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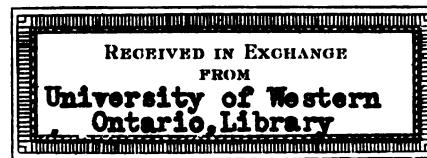
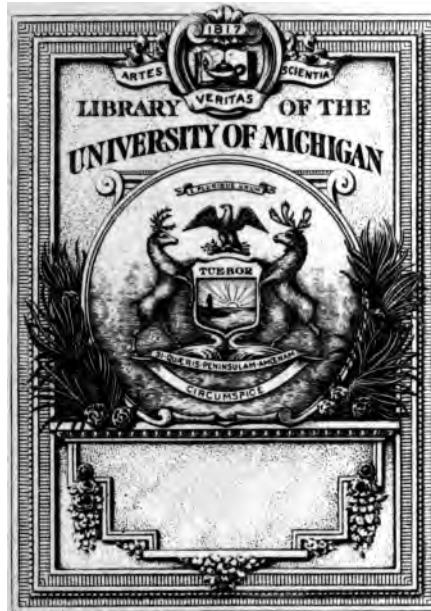
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LETTERS TO FARMERS' SONS

ON THE

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY,

BEING FAMILIAR TALKS ON

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

By HENRY S. CHASE, M. D.

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LETTERS TO FARMER'S SONS  
ON  
POLITICAL ECONOMY.

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My DEAR Boys:

In the year which has just passed I have been talking to your Fathers on some subjects of Political Science, and now I want to talk familiarly with you, on a wider range of Political or Social Science.

What I say will be my own thought; for I shall consult no books whatever.

I do not wish you to believe what I say, because I say it. But I do wish you to think, and try to reason out the truth yourselves.

If you ask your Mothers what Domestic Economy is; they will tell you that it is the knowledge of carrying on Household affairs in the best way.

Political Economy is the knowledge or Science of carrying on the affairs of Cities, Counties and States, in the best manner.

(8K)

That is, in a *just* manner. A Just manner, means a Right manner.

And so at the bottom of this subject is

**RIGHT.**

If you plant an apple tree and take care of it, it is your *right* to have the apples.

If you make a harrow out of your own wood and iron, you have the *right* to the harrow.

When you were a babe, you had a *right* to the care of your mother.

As an Infant you had the *right* to breathe, to eat and drink and sleep.

Now I think you will always understand me when I speak of *rights*.

When I speak of rights I refer always to personal rights, whether single or connected with others in a community.

Perhaps animals have rights; and very likely flowers, and vegetables have rights; but I shall refer only to human rights.

Persons have *natural rights*, which they are born with, and inhere in human existence; such as Life and Liberty.

The right to life, includes the right to procure the necessary things to prolong life, and make it comfortable and happy.

And the right to do that, includes the right to those natural elements which are necessary for its accomplishment, and which Nature bestowed for that very purpose; namely: *Land, Water, Air, Sunlight*.

Being deprived of any one of these for a considerable time, the individual sickens and dies.

All being necessary to human existence, they are rights that belong to you by birth; they belong to you from the very fact that you exist.

The Right to these Gifts of Nature can never be forfeited by you, for any reason whatever.

They may be withheld from you by fraud, by violence, by law, but the taking of any one from you is Robbery.

These Rights can never be annulled, even by law, and if the law deprives you of the use of any of these rights, "the law" is a Robber.

Learn to call things by their right names.

Law can never make a Moral Wrong into a Moral Right.

Remember too, that there are no Rights but Moral Rights.

Morality inheres in Right; and Right inheres in Morality.

I wish you to fully understand this subject of "Right," for all Just Government must be founded on *right*.

Governments founded on any other basis, have started wrong and go farther and farther astray as they grow older.

This is the reason that those Governments are so continually in a turmoil of party politics at home; and so often at variance with other independent governments abroad.

If you should ask me to point out a Government founded on Natural Rights, I could not do it.

No one of our State Governments are thus founded. Our Federal Government is not thus founded.

Before this series of "talks" close, you will have discov-

ered in what respects these Governments have false foundations.

You will have discovered that all the present unjust conditions of Society are the natural result of *Unacknowledged Rights*.

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### EQUAL RIGHT.

If there was but *one* person on the Earth, that person would have the Right to do exactly as he pleased, being restricted by no conflicting right.

But when the *second* person appeared upon the Earth the first person's right would be limited by the equal personal right of the second person.

Two bodies cannot occupy the same space; neither can two persons occupy the same space; neither can two persons have exclusive possession of the same thing.

If, when the *first* person appeared on the Earth there was only one tree bearing fruit, then that *one* person would have the right to the exclusive possession of that tree, and of its fruit.

But when the *second* person appeared on the Earth the fruit tree would cease to be the possession of one person, for it would equally belong to two persons.

Thus it is, that personal rights are limited by the equal personal rights of other human beings.

We may not know for whom the Earth was made; but if it was made for human beings, then all human beings that may exist on the Earth at the same time have equal Rights,

which cannot be annulled while the Earth remains, and human beings remain.

If this is true, then the Generations of Human Beings that will be on the Earth 100 years from now, have equal rights to the Use of the Earth that the present inhabitants of the Earth have.

If these announcements are admitted, then the Present Generation is bound by *right* to *use* the Earth in such a way, that its use for the succeeding generation shall not be impaired.

Suppose that a farmer dies, and leaves a good farm in complete order, for the use of all his sons. Some of the boys are "over 21," and other brothers 8, 10, 12 years old.

The younger of these brothers have the right to as valuable a farm when they "become of age" as the present farm.

If a person lets me have his house to *use*, rent free, for 5 years, it is his right to have the house delivered up to him in as good condition as when he delivered it up to me.

Now my boys, I want you to think this all out, and see if I have not told you the truth.

If nothing is the matter with your brains, you can get at the truth of nearly everything; by thinking long enough.

It is of the utmost importance that you learn to *think*, correctly. For you will be very likely to do wrong, unless you think right.

The management of all the affairs of the United States will soon be in your hands.

The mass of the people of the United States have been

robbed of their private rights, and of their equal rights, and it will be your great task to restore them ; until which time the great miseries of the people must continue.

If we stop to think, a moment, we must see that our private personal rights are limited more and more as the Earth increases her inhabitants ; but the Earth is sufficient for all.

The last comer has an equal right to all the gifts of Nature that the former inhabitants possessed.

To return to the farm illustration. The boys are now all grown up, and conclude to leave the farm, as they see brighter prospects for themselves elsewhere. Now they sell the farm, and divide the cash among themselves equally ; or they lease the farm for a yearly "rental," and divide the rent equally between them.

The father had given the boys all equal rights in the farm. And now they have made a just division of it.

In the same way Mother Earth offers her bosom for nourishment, with equal love and "opportunity," to every one of the children born to her, whether they are early or late coming.

*Natural Law*, or Natural Right says : " My child you brought nothing into this world when you came, and you can take nothing with you when you go."

And so all persons have an equal right to the use of the Earth while they exist here. No person then has a right to buy and sell any portion of the Earth, or anything that pertains to the Earth as a natural accompaniment, such as air, light, water, etc.

And if *one* person has not that Right, then hundreds, or thousands or millions have not the right.

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### LABOR.

It is probable that the first man on the Earth was obliged to "go to work," before he got his breakfast, unless the birds of the air came and dropped food into his open mouth.

Nothing can be obtained, either as food or clothing without labor.

Physical effort is necessary even to pluck berries from bushes, or fruit from trees. Blackberrying girls, and apple-stealing boys know that by experience.

Everything, then, that we see about us, in country or city, for the *use* of mankind has been produced by Labor.

And how has that labor been applied, and how must it always be applied to produce these things, which are so beneficial that we call them "Goods"?

To the Earth, to the "Land" persons must always go to produce the good things that we call

### WEALTH.

Labor applied to Land produces all Wealth.

When we say "Labor" in Political Economy, we mean any and all kinds of honest human exertion, whether of muscles or mind, or both combined.

When we say "Land," in Political Economy, we mean everything that pertains to Earth, land, air, water, Sunshine, and all the "forces" of Nature.

Wealth, then, is the product of Labor applied to "Land."

It is of the utmost importance, that you get these "terms," these meanings of "Land," "Labor," "Wealth," well fixed in your minds, for a confusion of terms spoils the solution of the problem of social science.

The value of a thing is in its use. All other values are fictions.

We say a railroad stock has a fictitious value when the "stock" has been "watered." A quart of milk fresh from the cow has no greater value when diluted with a quart of water; though it is often sold for the price of two quarts of honest milk.

We now understand that nothing is Wealth that is not the product, or result of "labor."

We "work," that we may enjoy the result of our work. We labor in order that we may use the Wealth that we produce.

Every Person has a right to the product of his own labor, to the exclusion of any other person or persons in the World.

Among early, or primitive people of the Earth the wages of the day were often consumed on the day the wages were earned.

The next day the "rude" man must go out again to gather food.

As Civilization proceeds the man begins to think it may be well to save up some nuts, or game for "a rainy day," and so in process of time the Tribe, or the Community daily produce more food, and other good things, than they daily consume.

Then it is that they are producing more wealth than they consume, and can store a portion of it up, in order to *facilitate* labor in producing more Wealth.

We may now say that Wealth which is held to facilitate labor in the production of more Wealth, is

CAPITAL.

If you Boys on the farm, put 50 bushels of potatoes in the cellar to *use* for the Winter, you must call them

“WEALTH FOR CONSUMPTION.”

If you have 10 bushels of potatoes selected for “planting,” in the Spring you must call those potatoes

“CAPITAL.”

For you will use the potatoes to facilitate the production of more potatoes ; more Wealth.

A very poor man, at the sea shore, went at low tide, and gathered clams until he had a small pile, one afternoon. Then he went to a house and borrowed a basket to put them in.

He gave the owner of the basket two quarts of clams “in the shell ” for the use of the basket.

The next day he bought a basket by giving for it three fourths of his clams, of the second days work.

The third day he borrowed a hoe, and got his basket full of clams.

With the basket and the hoe, he was able, at the end of the week, to purchase the hoe, with the every day product of his labor, his hoe and his basket, besides subsisting on clams.

The poor man was poor no longer, he had become a

"Capitalist," and could thus earn better wages for his days work.

Being industrious he was able after a month to purchase a wheelbarrow.

Now he could be a Merchant, and sell his clams from house to house. In one year from that time this man had produced by his "Labor" and "Capital," a horse and wagon.

This is a "story" to illustrate the evolution of Capital. The story is true.

In talking on this subject, the terms labor, wages, capital are continually arising and get associated with nearly everything I talk about; and they cannot be kept separate.

The editor, the school-teacher, the college professor, the postman, the artist, the theatre people all belong to the Army of Labor; to the Army of Producers.

Everything in society that ministers to ones true happiness, to ones true welfare, is a product of labor.

The man that sits in his office and cuts coupons from "Bonds;" or who counts his cash received from the sale of land, or building lots, or waterfalls, I count not in this Industrial Army.

I have just been telling you that all Wealth is the product of labor applied to "land."

Perhaps you say: "A cabinet maker manufactures an elegant bureau, and he does not apply his labor to land."

See here Boy! Where did the tree come from, that was made into boards, and into the bureau? Did it come from the Moon, or Jupiter? Or did it grow on the Earth?

## ON POLITICAL ECONOMY.

11

No matter how labor is applied ; in its last analysis you will see that it is applied to " Land."

So you see that Land must not be monopolized ; even the Editor, the Teacher, the Merchant, the Shoemaker will suffer if it is.

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## MACHINERY.

My Boys, I think you have a very faint conception of the vast development of Machinery in the last 50 years. Mens' brains have developed out of all proportion to their bodies, and to their physical surroundings, so that things are yet in a jumble, from displacement. The jumble will be over after a few years, I hope ; for matters will finally adjust themselves — harmoniously.

In all respects Machinery is to be a great blessing to labor, and to mankind ; for Machinery is labor itself, multiplied a thousand times. The more labor, in operation, the more production ; and the more production, the more good things (goods) there are to be distributed.

I said *to be* distributed. For these goods do not seem now to be distributed ; but rather to be piled up, in the hands of a few persons, whom we call Plutocrats ; a better name would be Grabrocrats, for they grab and hold all wealth in an iron grasp.

With the Land Question settled on a just basis, the distribution of wealth will be more even.

Although machinery has increased the wealth of the United States so wonderfully in the last 50 years, yet the

tendency of rent to increase, with both the increase of population, and the increase of wealth, the fact remains that thousands of men eager to work are out of employment; and millions of workers who have produced this fabulous wealth of the Country, are in distress and poverty. And while machinery has had the power to thus produce wealth, yet it has gone into a few hands, which gives still increasing power to Plutocracy and "Rent" to enslave labor.

Thus labor must accept the mere pittance which will support life, and reproduce children to grow up into wage slaves.

This land monopoly creates so much poverty, that labor cannot obtain, or retain the wealth, that it makes, and so there is a "glut," which is called: Over Production. There certainly is not over production while millions of our people go without the things that are so freely produced.

Certainly, there are not too many shoes, while millions of people go about with half-naked feet. There are not too many hats, while thousands wear tatters of straw in the winter. No, no, labor is restricted. Labor cannot, now, produce, except in bondage, and never can, until Gods Heritage is restored to all men.

Give us free exchange with all the World, and goods will not become a drug in the Factories; for price, under free conditions will regulate that. For if too much of any given article is produced to supply the demand for it, the price of that article would fall until its production is checked. Give us as free exchange with all the World as we have with the States of our own Country, and the crops of the farmer will

not linger in elevators, waiting for a raise in the market.

Under present conditions of Society, Machinery seems a curse to labor; and truly it does displace human muscles without an apology. Thus thousands are out of employment, who could be busy with their hands, if it was not for labor-saving machinery. Not that labor-saving machinery is necessarily injurious to the laborer, but under present conditions he is debarred from employing himself by applying his labor and must therefore beg for employment.

Not being able to obtain free access to natures store-house to create wealth to the full amount of his ability, he is also prevented from exchanging the products of his labor for that of other laborers, and not being able to produce, he is therefore unable to consume as much as he would like.

This phase of civilization is painful, but temporary; for education on this Political and Social Problem is making rapid headway, and it will very likely be settled in ten years from now, with much satisfaction, and real justice to all men.

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### WAGES.

I think that farmer's boys may have a more correct conception of what "wages" are, than city boys. Although I am writing for farmer's boys particularly, yet I hope thousands of young mechanics will read what I say also.

The first inhabitants of the Earth very likely lived upon the spontaneous productions of Nature; such as fruits and nuts. Whatever effort, whatever labor they employed in

procuring the food of the day, or of the week was repaid by the use of the fruits and nuts gathered. The product of their labor was their

#### WAGES.

If a rude man constructed a hut for himself, that hut was the full produce of his labor; it was his *Wages*.

When I was a boy, of 8 years, I "tost hay" for a farmer, a whole day. The farmer said: "Henry I will let you gather all the chestnuts on the tree in the north east corner of my pasture."

In October I gathered the nuts and paid my own wages, both in "tossing" the hay, and in gathering the nuts.

In my early farming days wages were oftener paid "in kind," than in "money," for the latter was scarce. I sometimes went at "low tide" to the seashore, with my hoe and my basket and dug clams. The clams that I carried home were my "wages" for my labor expended; and I paid my own wages. Sometimes I sold the clams before I got home, and got 25 cts.

I could not eat or wear the 25 cts., but kept them until I wanted to get something that I could eat or wear. If I exchanged my 25 cts., the next day at the "store" for a pair of woolen mittens, the mittens then became my wages for the labor expended in digging the clams. Now we may say:

#### WAGES ARE THE PRODUCT OF LABOR.

Very likely it was a long period before Early man cultivated the soil. He ate fruits, nuts, and the flesh of animals, very long before he "planted and sowed." Mankind try to satisfy their desires in the easiest way.

Early Man, most likely, was a Rover, being a hunter. After the Earth had become sufficiently inhabited, families and tribes jostled one another in their rovings for easier subsistence or pleasure.

Conflict, wars and disputes as to boundaries and possessions would finally determine them to remain longer in one location. This permanency of location ultimated in the tiling of the ground. Each man *used* all the land he desired; there was room enough for all.

As families grew into communities concessions of private rights in the soil would have to be made to the law of equal rights. Thus a defined area of earth would be allowed, by common consent, to each individual, and beside this an equal right to the wood, the pasture, and to the waters.

These *Usages* of equal right have been found the customs in all primitive communities.

Capt. Cook of the British Navy, on a Voyage of Discovery about 100 years ago, found these customs of Equal Rights in the Land, in every island he visited. History shows a similar custom of Equal Right, or Peoples Right, "Folk Right," in the laws of England before the "Conqueror" came and robbed them of those Natural Equal Rights.

Wages are high or low according to the demand, and according to the natural opportunities to which labor has access. In a new country, where "land" can be had to use, without "rent," a farm hand will not hire himself out for much less wages than he can earn by raising crops on that vacant land.

In new countries, therefore, labor employs itself, and gets the highest wage that labor can earn in that country. In older countries, where land is monopolized, labor must give up a portion, of its earnings to the holder of the land, for it is now excluded from using the natural opportunities that belong to it, and therefore becomes a wage-slave, taking the pittance doled out for the bare subsistence of the laborer. In mining districts, if "land" was free, the miner would get, as wages, the full value of his labor. For if he could not obtain it from a mine holder, he would dig a hole in the earth and mine for himself. Or he could unite with twenty other miners and thus co-operate in the developement and working of a mine.

#### CO-OPERATION

will undoubtedly become in the future a very common mode in which labor will apply itself. In that way small amounts of capital can be brought together and made effective in producing more wealth than labor could produce by independent action. All of our State, and other governments are conducted on the co-operative principle, but without justice.

When the Land Question is settled on a just basis, then we may expect wonderful results, beneficial results, to the whole people from a vast number of co-operations in all departments of industry, whether in the cities or the country.

In the near future we may expect factories to be owned and run by the operatives of those factories. We may expect ships to be owned and sailed by the sailors themselves. When natural opportunities are free, labor will be free, and

men will be free, and there will be no limit to free production.

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### PRODUCTION.

If a farmer raises a crop of corn, he is a producer of corn.

If a man comes along with a team and offers to carry it to the railroad station, *he* is a producer of corn.

If an agent at the station buys it, and ships it to St. Louis, the agent is a producer of corn.

The railroad that takes it to St. Louis is a producer of corn.

The miller who grinds it into meal, is a producer of corn.

The retail grocer who buys it, and sells it to the consumer is a producer of corn.

In fact every individual who had anything to do in getting the corn from the farm to the consumer is a producer of that very load of corn.

Thus it will be seen that the corn which the consumer uses, is not fully produced until the consumer gets it. And the labor, whether of the hand or the brain, must have its wage, and that wage must enter into the cost of production. If that load of corn should go to Europe its production would not cease until it got into the consumers hand in Europe, and there would be many additional charges added to the cost of the corn, for wages.

If we carry out this idea to its logical conclusion, we must include all the workmen who helped build the railroads, the cars, the ships, etc.

Now, young men you can see how vast this subject of Production is, and yet how simple ; for it is labor applied to "land" only. It is as simple, and grand as the ocean.

The men who kept the books, all along the line were producers equally with those who used much physical exertion. The wages of all these producers would be as low as competition could bring them.

If the opportunities that nature offers to men are open to them ; are not held out of use by monopolizers, then all those producers of that corn would work for no less than the wages they could earn for themselves, by applying their labor to natural opportunities.

As a consequence of these natural opportunities, there would never be a "glut" in the labor market, for men would always be seeking the country, under such circumstances, and thus labor would become scarcer in cities, and therefore command the fullest wages. Instead of labor seeking capital for opportunities to work, capital would seek labor in order to make interest for itself.

You will now perceive, boys, that all honest human effort in the production of wealth, is included in the term *Labor*.

If I ask you farmer boys, what you produce on the farm, you may tell me that you "raise only wheat, oats, corn and hogs." Then I ask you: "Dont you produce clothing, hats, shoes, knives, spoons, tin ware, wooden pails, furniture, mattresses; looking glasses, silks, calicoes, ginghams, books, newspapers, etc. ?" Perhaps you will say: "Oh, no ! We buy those things, with money, or we 'barter' at the store." All trade is Barter, in its last analysis. All exchange of pro-

ducts is Production. Production does not cease until the consumer uses the product.

Your labor produces all the things which you buy and *use*. And therefore you produce on your farms, everything that you consume, from silk dresses to newspapers. Think it out.

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### PROPERTY.

Every one thinks he knows what "property" is. But not one half of the people do know. Let me tell you what I think it is, for it is of great importance to have a just conception of what "property" really is.

Property is wealth belonging to one or more persons. It is wealth which is proper to the person if that person produced it by "labor," or if it came into his hands by gift from some person or persons by whom it had been produced. A Man's wealth is his property if he came by it through an honest title of his own or others. A Robber's wealth is not his property, for it is not proper to him, it belongs to another, whose property it is. Nothing is property, or can be property except wealth. And we have already seen that wealth is the product of labor, and of nothing else.

You will now see, Boys, that this "definition" of property will exclude many things from that schedule, which are now classed under its head. "Land" is not property. It cannot be property, for it was never made by a human being.

The Earth, the Air, the Water, the Sunshine is the gift of

Nature to all men. Natural Right, Equal Right, excludes the idea of property in land. That which you produce belongs to you and no other. That which it is *impossible* for man to produce can be the property of *no* man. That, which the community produces is the property of the community.

As no person has the right to take away, or rob the community, so the community has no right to take away, or rob the person of property. As the individual has the exclusive right to his own life, to his own powers, to his own exertions, so has he the sole right to his own property.

The community is made up of persons, and what they collectively produce by their labors, their enterprise, their presence, belongs to them as a community, and must be used and disposed of according to the wishes of the community. Proper means right. The wealth that you have produced is your Right, and therefore is proper to you, and thus your Property.

Values produced by the community are different from those produced by the person. One individual human being in a Territory 10 miles square could produce no values outside of labor applied to "Land." But half a million of human beings living on a territory of that size would very soon, indeed in a few months create enormous values entirely outside of labor applied to "land." That community would produce a "rental value" of land to the great extent of ten millions of dollars, yearly. They would create enormous values in "franchises, or the price for the *use* of streets on which or through which to run street cars, telephones, tele-

graphs, etc. No such value could be created by a person living alone.

Of course you understand that as these values are created by the community, the community should claim them, and should take them. These values might be divided among the community as dividends belonging to the corporation, and to be divided equally, to each individual. But there seems to be a natural law preventing this, and that is

#### POPULATION CAUSES "GOVERNMENT EXPENSES."

Therefore the right thing to do, is to do what other corporations do, namely : pay the "expenses" of the corporation before paying dividends. Let me state this law of nature more fully in this way :

Population causes community values, and population causes government expenses. Let one pay the other. Now you will say this may apply to cities, but how does it apply to a purely farming community ? I answer, there is one value created that is not the direct product of individual "labor."

#### THE "RENTAL VALUE" OF LAND

is every where produced, according to population, and not according to area.

The rental value of franchises in the country would be small, for the demand would be small. The rental value of land would be about \$25 per inhabitant. That is: the commercial rental value of all the "lands" in a county containing 20 thousand inhabitants would amount to 500 thousand dollars. There are government expenses in a county.

Roads and bridges to build, court house, jail, and salaries for necessary, and unnecessary county officers.

The "rental values" created by that population, would much more than pay the expenses of that government. Thus the community produces

#### RENTAL VALUES.

Property, again. When you labor you put your living forces of body and mind into the things which you produce, and therefore those things are a part of yourself, and therefore "proper" to you. Your body and mind belong to yourself. Therefore the product of your exertions belong to yourself. It is your property.

When you are robbed in anyway of your property, you are robbed of yourself, to that extent. The widow, in the Parable, who gave her only "mite," gave herself.

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#### LAND.

Every question of Political Economy runs into the "Land," as every river runs into the sea.

"Land," in "Political Economy" means everything that pertains naturally to the Earth. Therefore the Rivers, the Oceans, the Springs, the Air, the Sunlight, belong to "Land."

From the top of the highest mountain to the lowest depth of the oceans, all belong to "Land." Land is the raw material reservoir, from which labor obtains all wealth,

I have tried to show you that all men have equal natural rights.

First of all is an equal right to all the gifts of nature. These gifts are those which it is impossible for man to produce by his labor:

Earth, Air, Sunlight, Water. The monopoly of any one of these, by any man or any set of men, makes slaves of all the other inhabitants of the earth.

No man, and no set of men can own a single acre of the earth.

Men think they own portions of the earth, because they have a deed from some man or set of men or from the government.

The law tells the possessor that it is his, just as the law told the slaveholder that the slave was his. But no person can own a human being.

All human beings have equal natural rights, among which are self-possession and an equal right to the use of the earth, with every other human being.

If it were possible for a man to own an acre of land, then it is possible for him to own a hundred thousand acres, a million acres, in fact the whole earth and in that case he would have the right to make every body get off his land and therefore drown in the ocean.

All men have equal rights in what Nature has provided for the sustenance and benefit of all mankind.

And therefore all men must have access to the Land on equal terms. Monopoly of Land is the mother and father of Poverty.

Sometimes people say to me: "I don't see how private ownership of land can cause so much poverty; there is plenty of land if people will go to it; there is plenty of land for sale cheap, or for rent cheap." And they say, too: "You could not drive these poor people away from the cities; they want to live in the cities, for they don't know how to cultivate land."

I answer: There is nothing in the world that could make those poor people comfortable and happy that is not produced from the land. It makes no difference whether these poor people apply their labor directly to land, or not, it is the same thing.

They must apply their labor to something that has been produced from the land, in order to get the goods which they desire.

Now, if the things they apply their labor to, have been taxed by "Rent," before they could get a chance to apply their labor, and if the things they wish to buy for *use* have been produced under a tax by "Rent," then this double tax comes out of the wages of the poor man, and this robbery taxation *keeps* him poor.

This private ownership of land produces a monopoly, which acts precisely as "Trusts" do, in shutting out labor from the field of production, and therefore making goods dear, and labor cheap.

Let me make an illustration. Now, Boys, suppose a solid wall a thousand feet high was built around your county. Say, six men own 460 thousand acres, of it, and eighty men own 800 acres of it. For a few years the 80 men and their

families can "get along" without pinching poverty, on their 10 acres to each family.

By and by the population increases. Now the six men who own nearly all the land are asked to lease some land to the workers. O yes, certainly they like to do good to the poor! "You can come and work my land and give me one-third of the crop."

These poor men are thankful to be thus robbed of only one-third of their labor, because it is, simply take that or nothing; for they have no choice but to come to the terms of the men who control the land, which is the only thing that they can earn their living from.

The men having the control of the land, can make any terms they please, above a bare living for the workers, and this is what is done all the time with the mere laborer; his wages afford him simply a bare existence.

The greater the demand for the land, the higher will the rent rise, and the lower the wages will fall, until that point is reached, to go beyond which, would mean starvation and death.

The six men set up factories for the poor men's families to work in, and they have to work for just what the "capitalists" choose to pay them; and they choose to pay them just enough to keep them from dying.

The population continues to increase. There are more and more poor people. The poor stay on the farms, or in the factories from early morn until dark: work: work: work! The more they produce, the more is taken as rent. The rich men and their descendants employ their time in

amusements, and in the cultivation of learning; the arts; science, etc.

The very poor all the time increase in numbers. The very rich decrease in numbers. The poor always vastly out-number the rich.

At last comes the catastrophe. The poor have at last found out the cause of their poverty. Rendered desperate by long oppression they make war on the rich. They rebel. They kill the Plutocrats and set fire to their magnificent houses, and thus endeavor to free themselves from their masters.

Americans heed the warning!

#### LAND - HOLDING.

All uncivilized nations hold land in common.

One hundred years ago, when Capt. Cook of the English Navy went on a voyage of discovery, he found many islands inhabited only by natives; and in looking upon Cook and his sailors, these natives saw, for the first time, white men.

Capt. Cook reports in his "Voyages" that in all those islands the natives had possession of land only by

#### OCCUPANCY AND USE,

and not by purchase. There was more than enough for all.

The early history of England shows the same land-holding laws. After "The Conquest," the lands of England were parcelled out to the generals and captains who had assisted in butchering and enslaving the former inhabitants. For the use of these territories the "Lords" must pay all the expenses of army and navy; the church rates; and the poor

rates. Of course these Lords, Dukes and other robbers compelled the farmers to pay enough rent, above those national taxes, to enable aristocrats to live in magnificence, while the farmers themselves were grateful to be allowed to live at all.

After a time these Dukes, Lords and other robbers got tired of paying these government expenses out of their revenues forced from the farmers; and so about 1688, or two hundred years ago, the

“HOUSE OF LORDS”

abolished their own taxes, and put them on general property, so that the whole industry of the country was compelled to pay them.

This was a robbery of the people of England; for William the Conqueror, had leased these lands to the Lords, for a rental amounting to the expense of the government.

By shifting this rent from themselves to the whole people, Great Britain is to-day saddled with a debt of four thousand millions of dollars. Of course it can never be paid. But the interest on it is paid by the industry of the people, upon which it is a tremendous tax.

The people of England now are trying to get the taxes back on the land.

The lands of England are held by the descendants of those Lords who have thus robbed the people for 200 years.

The American colonies adopted the land tenure system of England, in part, when they formed the United States.

Jefferson, who had so much to do with the principles on which our institutions are founded, urged that a great truth

be adopted by the people, but could not get it into practical operation at that time; but he has left it as an inheritance for us of this day: a precious gem of thought and of justice. This is what he said: "*The use of the earth belongs to the living generations of the people.*"

"Land was intended to use, and not to buy and sell;" that is what I heard an old Indian chief say, when I lived among the Indians in 1839.

American Indians have always been opposed to selling their lands. There was never private ownership among them.

There is no civilized country in the World, where "land-holding" is founded on justice. There is no civilized country in the World where there is freedom of production, and freedom of trade.

There is no civilized country in the World where the producers of wealth, the workers, are not oppressed, and robbed. There is no civilized country in the World where the "masses" of the people are not poor.

There is no civilized country in the World where the few, "The Four Hundred," do not get nearly all of the riches of the country into their own hands. There is no civilized country in the World where the richest people are not the drones of society.

There is no civilized country in the World where the full rent of land is taken to pay the expenses of government. There is no civilized country in the World, where the producers do not pay all the taxes out of their own labor.

The distress of Ireland is all owing to private ownership

of land. The distress of all civilized countries is owing to this same monopoly.

People may say, that, without private ownership of land countries would relapse into barbarism ; but that is not true, for all that is needed is security of possession. And that can be had without a monopoly title.

The "Single Tax" men have always said: Security of possession, in land-holding, is necessary for advancing civilization. No permanent improvements would be made without that security. But that security of possession, by the individual, must be *paid* for, to the *community* in the shape of a *full* rental value.

That the exclusive possession, is all that is needed to induce men to improve land, is conclusively proven by the fact, that many of the very finest buildings in Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Chicago, are built upon land for which an annual rent is paid to the parties holding the title. The amount to be paid annually, is fixed by arbitration every five, ten or twenty years.

#### SCHOOL LANDS

ought never to be sold. They should be leased for ever ; with a re-valuation every three years, at their full rental value, and without taxation to the occupants.

At first the rental would be small, but as population increased it would continually grow, and at last bring an immense income. There is always a great pressure from land speculators, either open, or secret to compel the sale of these lands. Robbers and thieves are always on the search for victims. The public good, becomes private plunder.

## VACANT LAND.

It is astonishing what enormous crimes are committed through ignorance.

Thousands of men are committing crimes every day of their lives, in this country, far worse than instant murder.

Thousands of men have fenced out the *Table of the Lord* from Earth's children, and deny them their "daily bread," which at their mother's knees, in their early childhood, they were taught to ask for.

Men hold "land" out of use. They are starvers of the people, who, by applying labor to it might procure food, clothing and shelter. They are robbers of the people because they prevent the production of the "goods" that all the people need.

They are robbers of the people because their object is to get something for nothing.

They are murderers, because they kill thousands yearly by starvation.

They are instigators of suicides by causing despair to darken the hearts of willing labor.

They are instigators of murder, because they debauch the poor, and make them haters of humanity.

I wish the poor and unemployed men, women and children, would swarm out of New York, Chicago and St. Louis, and "squat" on all the uncultivated, unused lands they need, and go to work on them.

If these people who have been robbed of their equal right, should be driven from those lands, I wish they would return to them, again and again, until they died like soldiers in

battles, on God's acres, on Nature's acres. And I wish the owners (?) of those vacant lands might be obliged to bury them in respectable coffins on that very soil.

All about Chicago, to-day :

All about St. Louis, to-day : are absolutely vacant lands, that are producing nothing, either to eat, drink, or wear.

These vacant lands are increasing in value so rapidly that the owners (?) hold them out of use, in their extravagance, thoughtlessness and brutality.

I pass by a forty-acre lot, daily, that is without fences, covered with nothing but tin cans and weeds. No poor man would be allowed to plant potatoes there, nor anything else, save dead cats and dogs.

Mr. Vacant-Land-Holder ! We single tax men want to educate and convert you ! It would make you happier. It would make labor happier.

Some one of you farmer boys lend him a primer !

When the "single tax" comes there will be no vacant land ; for labor can have the poor lands without rent ; and the better lands must be used, in order to pay the rent into the public treasury.

Thus right dealing will be the rule, in regard to all Nature's opportunities.

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#### LABOR AND CAPITAL.

In a thousand ways might be told stories to illustrate the good-will that should exist between labor and capital. Capital, you have seen, is the grand-child of labor. Sometimes

people become ashamed of their grand-parents ; it's a pity.

In too many cases "Capital" is ashamed of its grandmother Labor ; it's a pity.

Labor the mother ! Wealth the child ! Capital the grand-child !

Now, my dear Boys, right here we must explain the relation that wages hold between Labor and Capital. Capital when arrogant or ignorant asserts that it is she, that pays the wages of labor !

That is a false statement.

Labor always earns her own wages, before receiving them. Labor always *produces* her own wages, before receiving them.

After awhile the clam digger, the clam merchant, whom we have spoken of, began to hire labor to *dig* his clams, while he was *selling* other clams. At night there were several bushel of clams produced by labor. At night the clam merchant paid his clam diggers for their work.

After he had paid them, he found that he was richer than he was in the morning, for the clams dug and in the baskets were worth more than the wages paid ; and the clam merchant's capital had been *increased* and not diminished, by the payment of wages.

Wages had been paid out of the product of labor and *not* out of capital.

Now let me take another case to show this law of Wages and Capital. A man comes into your vicinity and hires a "corn lot" of 40 acres. He pays out cash to get it plowed and planted, to the extent of sixty dollars. He is sixty dollars

out of cash, but not out of Capital. He has merely taken sixty dollars of his Capital out of his pocket, and put it into the 40 acres.

Another man comes along and buys him out, for seventy dollars. Now he has taken his sixty dollars out of the 40 acres and put it back in his pocket, together with ten dollars profit. Thus he has increased his Capital from 60 to 70 dollars.

Now you may apply this principle to *all* payments of Wages, and if you trace all the operations carefully to the results, you will find it the invariable rule that Wages are paid out of the product of Labor.

Capital never produces Wages !

Capital can produce nothing !

Capital is nothing without Labor.

Labor can exist without Capital.

Capital must die without Labor.

Capital and Labor united can produce, and does produce

#### THE WONDERS OF THE WORLD.

Boys, honor Labor; and save enough of your wealth to accumulate Capital; for your Capital may be a great convenience to you.

Let me add, that the only time wages are paid out of Capital, is where wages are paid before they are earned. Rare !

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#### TRADE.

I suppose you Boys think that you know all about Trade. Now watch me, and see if "Pa" Chase knows all about it, too.

You go to the "store" and buy a pair of boots for four dollars. You give the merchant the "money" and take the boots home. That's a Trade. Where did you get the four dollars? O, you sold four bushels of wheat to that merchant, two weeks ago, and he gave you "money." So then, you really gave four bushels of wheat for a pair of boots. That is only Barter after all.

All Trade is Barter, in its last explanation. Always keep that in mind.

You know Bill Smith wants to buy that merino buck of you. He offered you twenty-five dollars for it. You told him that the "money" would be of no use to you, and you was afraid that you would "fool it away."

Yesterday you went over the creek to see your cousin Jim Hemingway.

At dusk you saw him milking a mighty fine three year old heifer. He got ten quarts.

"Jim, what will you take for her?"

"O, go long; I only got her last week, and paid twenty for her."

"Jim, I'll give you twenty-five for her."

"Take her!"

But you did not have the money, so you gave Jim a "cash order" on "the store." Jim was willing to take the order, for he knew that you was "good for it," and he knew that Mr. Merchant was good for it.

\$25. Brush Creek Farm, June 1st, 1890. Mr. Merchant please pay to Jim Hemingway, or order, twenty-five dollars, and charge the same to my account. DICK OGLESBY.

Now you know that you will sell Bill Smith that merino buck, for twenty-five dollars. See him to-day and finish the Trade.

Now my Boy, "Dick," what kind of Trade was that? It was, and is Free Trade, and it will be a Barter-trade by the time it is finished. You will exchange your fine buck for Jim Hemingway's fine heifer.

All Trade is an exchange of products.

Your trade with Jim, was a free trade. You did just as you pleased, according to Natural Right; Personal Right; according to Equal Right. There was no restriction about that trade. Each person got what he most desired. All three of you. Nobody was robbed.

The next day you led the heifer to your home. You had no trouble crossing Brush Creek. Suppose Robert Thief had stood at the "crossing," and with a "Winchester" at his shoulder told you that you could not take the heifer across the creek without paying him ten dollars?

Would you have been mad? Suppose that at all the "crossings" on Brush Creek, the same thing would happen?

Suppose that all along the lines, for six-thousand miles surrounding your home, and thus separating you from Jim's farm, the same restriction was placed? Would that be free trade?

Well, you concluded to pay Robert Thief the ten dollars, for you wanted the heifer, any way. So you took her home. But when you came to talk with mother at the supper table, that day, she said to you "Dick, my Boy, to-morrow you

will take the buck over to Bill Smith and get your twenty-five dollars, won't you?" Now it seems to me that you've sold that buck for fifteen dollars; for although Bill hands you over the twenty-five dollars, yet the ten dollars that you paid Robert Thief, custom house officer, must come out of that selling price, to Bill; and so you really get only \$15 for the buck.

Or, Dick, my boy, if you "put it the other way," that heifer cost you \$35, instead of \$25. In fact it took almost two merino bucks to exchange for the heifer."

"In fact you will have to sell that second grade buck for ten dollars down to the "store," in order to make your credit account "balance" with Mr. Merchant.

See the operation of a "tariff!"

Exchange of products is restricted.

Your natural rights are violated.

Such laws lower the "tone" of society in regard to justice.

*All* "tariffs" are pirates.

You have a "right" to all that your labor produces.

Violate the rights of only one person in the community, and the rights of all the people of that community are violated. Young men, examine every law in force to-day, and every proposed law, in the light of personal "right": of justice. "Justice" and "right" are words that mean the same.

One reason of the great wealth-producing power of the United States is the fact that there is freedom of trade between them all.

Your reason will teach you that freedom of trade with

every country of the Earth, would be far more beneficial than any restriction, whatever.

In every case where I speak of Free Trade I not only mean free exchange of products, but I mean Free Production itself. And free production means no taxation of products, or the means, or machinery of production; or the taxation of natural opportunities from which products must be made.

Therefore, *Free Production* means the *Freedom of Labor*. Labor cannot be free, except it has free access to Earth, Air, Water, Sunlight.

The freedom of one person in this respect must be equal to every other person's in the community.

I am not willing to let you, young men, forget, for a moment, the equal right of all persons on the Earth to the "resources" of the Earth.

This subject of Trade is a big one. It is simple enough if you look at it with your own natural spectacles; but if you look at it through Custom House spectacles, it is the most intricate, befogged subject that ever was.

Smash the revenue tariff spectacles!

Smash the protection tariff spectacles!

Put on your clear, clean

REASON SPECTACLES,

and you will see "trade" to be as simple as water running down-hill.

Trade seeks the easiest modes of exchange. *Free Trade is Natural Trade.*

The Sun lifts up the water of the Gulf of Mexico into the high air. The winds carry the water to the North and West.

The cool air of the North condenses it into vapor, and clouds appear. Condensing the air still more, "the clouds drop their fatness" in the form of rain.

The woods are glad; the prairies are glad; the springs are glad; the rivulets rejoice; everything is blessed. The people are happy; the animals and birds are happy; flowers, fruits and vegetables are happy. And those cloud drops go singing their way, down, down, down to the Gulf of Mexico again, bearing, on their united bosoms, millions of tons of the production of farmers and artisans.

Nature is a free trader, and so will you be, my young friends, when you understand "the primer."

Dick Oglesby, I want to talk a little more to you about this "trade" business; the other boys must hear it also.

Your mother is a "mighty fine woman," as lots of farmers' wives are. She is good, and honest, and tries to be just; and she hates injustice, though she may never have thought much about the law of "right." "Seems like" the law of "right" was born in her. I reckon it is, in everybody; but false education scratches it out.

The other day, about the 15th of December, I called at your house, Dick, as I was going past, for I had cold feet that frosty morning, while you were out feeding the "stock."

Your mother told me a story, and she got awful red in the face, telling it; and she held me to secrecy till after Christmas, for she said that it would spoil your Christmas if you knew it then.

Well, she took a tub of her fine butter to town and sold it

to Mr. Merchant for 30 cts. a pound. That's the price she "got just a year ago."

The year before, she "took it up" in a woolen dress, gloves, ribbons, etc. This year she carried the same tub full of butter, and the same number of pounds, to trade.

Now, the dress she bought last year, she let Nancy, the hired girl have, who went away in October and got married. Your mother liked that dress so well, that she determined to have another one exactly like it.

She found Mr. Merchant had a new piece of the very same goods, quality, width, pattern and all, and so he cut her off the same number of yards she bought the year before. And she went through her "list" of lining, thread, gloves, ribbon, and the very same things she got before.

The butter just "evened up things" last year. This year it did not. Lord! How mad your mother got telling me.

"Forty pounds of butter bought those things last year, and now I must go, to town next week and give Mr. Merchant another tub of butter weighing twenty pounds. It's downright robbery," said she.

"Good for you! Good for you, Mrs. Oglesby, I am glad to hear that you are a

#### FREE TRADER!"

"Is that free trade?" said she.

"O, no, your last year's trade was thievery trade; and this year it is robbery trade."

"You have never had free trade in your dresses, gloves, ribbons, etc. When we get *Free Trade* in America you will

carry only twenty pounds of butter to get those same things that you now give sixty pounds for ;" said I.

She got right up and went out of the room ; then came back wiping her eyes with her apron. She said she was mad, and she was glad ; and finally thought she was more glad than mad, "on Dick's account." For when I told her that : "*Free Trade is coming*," she said : " O how good that will be for Dick, and his children."

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#### DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

I have studied this subject of Wages, Capital, Land Rent for many years.

Let me tell you how I think it is : We will take a simple case, for the truth is more easily seen in a few simple facts, than in a complicated condition. Here is a broad rich prairie in Kansas, of two thousand acres. There is no fence around it ; it is in grass. No houses or barns on it. One man says he owns it. He says he will rent it to any one for one-third of the crop. John Smith hires it for ten years at that price. Smith pays out his cash to get it fenced, broken, houses and stables built ; buys horses, carts, ploughs, etc., to work the land with.

Then he says to the "labor people :" " Come and use my land, ploughs, horses, seed corn, etc., and raise a crop of corn, and I will give you one-third of all you raise. I must keep one-third to pay my landlord for rent. I must keep one-third for the use of my cash invested, and for superintendence."

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Now you see that crop of corn is to be divided equally between labor, capital and rent.

Labor has to work and sweat for its one-third. Capital has to give the *use* of its cash.

Rent does nothing but sleep, eat, drink, and travel in other countries and "put on airs." Suppose Rent went into the Public Treasury, instead of into a private pocket. In the Public Treasury it would belong to capital and labor, and would be expended for the benefit of both equally.

Labor and capital would pay all expenses of 'government' out of that public purse, and not out of the earnings of either labor or capital. If there were no taxes to pay, John Smith would gladly give more than one-third of his crop to labor.

We see, Boys, that it is only labor applied to land, that produces wealth. Labor produces the wealth, and ought to have it. I hope you will finally, think so.

Just think about the thousands upon thousands of various kinds of labor. Just think of the kinds that enter into an ounce of tea; of the kinds that enter into a silk dress, or a coal oil lamp.

Thousands of workers help to make a single article of domestic use. Every one of those thousands should have a portion of the wealth they produce, in money. And the distribution should be *just*. Under free conditions it would be, of necessity.

Think of the thousands of restrictions to the just distribution of wealth, that now exist! The more you think of it, the plainer it will be.

It matters not how prosperous a city is; how much the

Annual Exhibit of the production of wealth is, in a city like St. Louis or New York ; we constantly find that very few of the producers of that wealth have any more of it for their own, than they had at the beginning of the year.

But we always find that the owners of land are very much richer. We find that those who have bought and sold lands, on speculation have "made money."

The land values have gone up. And because they have gone up, the business, the industry of the city must pay a six per cent. tax on the increased value of the city lots, which people use, in addition to a six per cent. tax on all previous additions to the price of land and lots.

That six per cent. tax goes not into the city treasury, where it could pay all city expenses, but into the pockets of landlords.

Thus labor staggers under the landlord-tax, forever, and in all countries. And in all countries the mass of the people are thereby kept poor.

Every eight or ten years industry becomes exhausted by this robbery ; and it not only staggers, but it falls.

Then comes the crisis ! Then comes bankruptcy and ruin to some of the robbers. For these robbers have been riding on the bent backs of labor, and now labor falls from sheer exhaustion, and many robbers are thrown down, and all production for a time, is paralyzed.

But to return to the illustration with which we started. What is the reason, it may be asked, why John Smith should give one-third of his crop to the so-called owner, when ac-

cording to the law of equal right the land belongs equally to both ?

It is because under present conditions the title is vested in one man, as against all others ; so that no one can now use this land except by permission of the holder of this title.

This paper title is nothing but a legalized fraud, an infringement of the law of equal freedom, and forms the point at which the unequal distribution of wealth begins and from which it brings a large proportion of the poverty and crime of the world.

Now you can see how labor raises the hemp and makes it into rope, for the Plutocrat to *hang* labor with. In other words the more wealth labor produces, the more the land sells for and rents for, and thus labor punishes itself for being industrious.

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### COMPETITION.

The first business remark that I ever heard was when a boy, in Vermont, my uncle Henry Campbell said : "Competition is the life of business." In that little village he kept the "store," until another man opened one more.

I said to him "you won't sell so many things now, will you ?" "O yes," said he, "more people will come to this village to trade, and it won't hurt me a bit, in fact I may sell more goods than ever."

Competition is good, both for competitors and the public. It gives energy to the producer, who endeavors to surpass his rival both in quality and cheapness.

And so competition promotes invention of all kinds ; and thus improved methods of making all the useful and good things of life are put in motion, and the world is benefited.

For the easier wealth is produced, the more abundant it will become, under the free conditions which the "single tax" will establish.

Under present conditions competition reduces wages to the point of "bare living," for capital insists on having a whole loaf, all the time, and the largest loaf also, leaving labor to pick up the crumbs that fall from the Plutocrat's table. And labor will do this rather than starve, out and out.

When the "single tax" is fully in operation capital will compete *for* labor, but not *with* labor. Labor under those free conditions, will hold itself above poverty, and demand and obtain from capital the lion's share of the wealth which labor and capital can create.

It must be so, for capital will draw less and less per cent. as interest, or profit ; for wealth being abundant will be cheap.

And, on the other hand, natural opportunities being cheap, labor can easily obtain them and employ itself without a master ; and being without a master, will keep all it can earn.

We have already seen that labor *now* is obliged to give two-thirds of its earnings to the masters ; landlord, and lend-lord.

As soon, then, as free competitive industry is well established, the untold blessings of abundant good things will belong to labor, as well as capital, and poverty will be rare,

except among the vicious and intemperate ; and these classes will grow rapidly smaller as industry becomes self-reliant, and self-respecting.

I must now speak of another point of more importance than any other, in regard to competition, namely: It is a regulator of prices and profits. In any trade or business where competition is free, the prices charged for the product will be honest and fair. No one could get enormous profits very long, under free competition, because others would undersell ; and thus obtain the trade. This is absolutely true of every article produced by labor, or into which labor-cost is an element of importance.

On the other hand, wherever competition is restricted, as it is in the iron or woolen industries, by import duties, there the profits may be very large to the manufacturers of those goods, because of the lack of competition in their production ; that is, the competition of the rest of the world being shut off by the import duty, the home manufacturer may charge enormous profits, until other people are induced to come into those favored lines of trade, owing to the unusual returns to capital ; until at length the gains are once more reduced to the average profits in other kinds of business.

Competition would, if left free, regulate the profit in all Industries ; and this is why

#### TRUSTS

are formed ; simply to do away with competition, and increase profits.

Every business man knows, that where competition is free, it is impossible to over-charge consumers.

Trusts, or other combines, of whatever character can do no harm to the general public, unless supported by some unjust law, that allows them a monopoly.

A trust without a law to support it, must sell goods even cheaper than an individual, in the same line of business ; or else it fails to shut out competition.

In order to do it without a law to back them, they must make one very large company out of several smaller ones, and thereby cut down expenses ; which enables them to undersell and crush out small concerns, only to see them reappear as soon as the price of goods is advanced far enough for those small concerns to live.

Therefore a simple trust need not be feared ; for monopolies are all created and sustained only by law.

Take for instance the "Standard Oil Company." They have a more or less monopoly of the oil wells of this country.

No harm could come of this, if they paid into the public treasury the full rental value of the monopoly they control ; but the laws are such that the company pockets this enormous revenue, and pays the community nothing. Not only so, but they control the output of oil for any length of time, and thus control the price.

The same may be said of the coal-barons in Pennsylvania. They get together about once a year and determine just how much coal shall be dug during the year ; and also what price shall be charged for it.

There being no competition, they are absolute masters of the situation. This they could not be, if they paid to the

community the annual rental value of the opportunities they monopolize.

This could be done by either of the following methods.

Lease the coal fields or oil wells to the party that would give the highest percentage upon the output.

First having laid off the ground in large blocks, or in any convenient manner, and lease one or more blocks to each party.

Another method would be to lease the lots at an annual rental to the person willing to pay the highest price per annum.

Or still another way ; the lots might have a price per annum fixed by an assessor, according to location, etc.

What I insist upon, is the principle of everyone paying for the amount of the common-stock which they appropriate to their own use.

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#### “SUFFRAGE.”—THE VOTE.

A government based on the votes of the people, is as near a just foundation of government as we can at present have.

#### “THE GOVERNMENT”

should represent the *whole* people, but it cannot in the present condition of society. Very well ; then let us come as near to that principle of justice as possible.

Persons in forming a government, must surrender, to some extent their private rights *to* the government. It seems unjust for *some* people to be compelled to surrender their equal

rights, by a denial of the right to vote. If personal rights are surrendered to the government, *equal* rights should not be.

Who is to judge of the qualifications of the voter.

Ask the Plutocrat, and he will say that poor men have no right to vote; for they may raise his taxes.

Ask the poor man, and he will say Plutocrats have no right to vote and hold office, for they make laws to oppress the poor.

Ask the learned man, and he will say the ignorant have no right to vote.

Ask the pharisee or church hypocrite, and he will say bad men have no right to vote.

Ask the vicious, and they will say: "Curse the church folks, they want to get us all under their thumb."

Now, I think, that as there are all sorts of people who must surrender a portion of their natural right, for a government, therefore all sorts and conditions of people have an equal right to assist in making that government. I think *all* persons should be allowed to vote who are above twenty-one years of age, and are not deprived of their liberty by conviction of crime. But I think office-holders should not be allowed the vote, owing to the corruptive influence of the party in power.

Women, being persons, are *not* to be excluded as voters. *Women have all the same rights as men*, and therefore cannot be justly denied the ballot.

Men, now do as you please about exercising this right. Women can do as they please about it, when the abomin-

able restrictive laws are abolished which deny their rights.

The principle of personal right, and equal right, is the only ground on which women should claim "suffrage."

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### GOVERNMENT.

If one of you farmers' boys should go off and live by yourself in an uninhabited country, you could exercise all your rights without hindrance. Even if the population increased, so that there was one inhabitant to the square mile, the exercise of those rights would not be limited, in actual practice.

But ere long you would find the free exercise of your personal rights somewhat limited, by the equal rights of the other persons in your neighborhood. Then you and your neighbors would meet together, and agree on certain rules of action, as a guide in your intercourse with each other.

These rules would have to be the common thought, or common sense, of all, and therefore voluntary. At this stage you have established

#### A GOVERNMENT

of the simplest nature. There is no better government in the world than this. But population increases; and with that increase come new desires, new wants.

At an annual meeting of the people you find that many express a desire for roads and bridges, and a post office. The meeting chooses an executive committee of three men, to take this business in charge, and make a report at an adjourned meeting.

The committee examine, and report a way to do those things. A subscription paper is circulated and days work subscribed, or bushels of wheat, or pounds of wool given instead.

The community get along very well under this voluntary system for a while; but more and more the population increases, and more conveniences of civilization are needed. Finally the people meet in a great *convention*, and after some days of consultation form this Territory into

#### A STATE.

You all know what a State is, as at present constituted, but I think there is no State in the Union properly constituted. Let us try to make a constitution on this paper.

If I can make a good model of a state on paper, and in thinking it over very much you come to the conclusion that it is better than any we now have, why then I shall hope that you will very soon modify the constitution and laws of *your* State, to correspond with the better model.

#### THE CONSTITUTION

shall say, that the *people* are the state. The law of *natural* right, of personal right shall not be abridged more than is necessary to correspond to *equal right*.

*All* the people have *equal rights*.

No laws shall be enacted by the legislature contrary to the principles of natural right, and equal right.

The powers of the legislature shall be limited by these principles, in the making of every law for the government of the people.

The constitution shall say, that there shall be but *one* legislative body. That all laws enacted by it shall have at least three-fourths of its members present, voting "yea," to pass it. The Governor shall have no veto.

The funds with which to pay the expenses of state, county, city, or other governments shall never be raised on property.

Nothing shall be taxed that the *labor* of the people, or of the individual has produced.

No person shall be taxed for pursuing his trade or profession.

The public revenue shall be raised by taking the full rental value of all lands, city lots, mines; and in no other manner, with the following exception, to-wit:

All franchises granted to railroads, telegraphs, telephones, etc., in the nature of

#### MONOPOLIES

shall pay into the treasuries of the several governmental districts where they are located, wholly or in part, not less than ten per cent. of their gross receipts.

The full rental values, before mentioned, of all natural opportunities shall be taken for the public funds.

No person shall forfeit his life.

No person shall forfeit food, clothing, air or sunshine.

There shall be *no punishment for crime*.

There shall be reformation for criminals.

There shall be no laws passed for the private collection of debts.

No person shall be denied the freedom of his person, except for crime.

No person shall be abridged of liberty of speech; oral or written.

No person shall be denied his liberty more than twelve hours previous to a hearing before a justice.

All persons innocent of crime shall be reimbursed by the state, if detained, injured in body or reputation by the state.

The state *guarantees* the natural right and equal right of all its people.

The main function of the state shall be to maintain the rights of the people.

All people who have attained the age of twenty-one years, who have lived in a voting precinct six months; who are not under bodily restraint for crime, have the right to vote for any officer of the state, subject to minor qualifications. But no person shall exercise the right of suffrage while holding a Governmental office, under National, State, County or City election or appointment.

Public debt shall not be incurred, except by a direct vote of all the people.

The state shall in no wise act as a buyer or seller of merchandise, for a person, or persons.

The state shall in no wise act as a manufacturer of merchandise.

The state shall make no laws for the encouragement, or the discouragement of industry.

No county, town or city may do things which the state may not do.

This state may exercise no function of government which belongs only to the national government.

This state may not make money.

## EDUCATION.

Schools, colleges, and universities for the education of the people, shall be organized and supported only by the sub-corporations of the state, and by independent effort.

All laws of the state or sub-corporations shall be null and void at the expiration of twenty years from their enactment, unless re-enacted before their expiration.

All elections within this state shall be conducted according to the plan generally known as the "Australian System;" or in such manner as to secure perfect independence and secrecy in preparing and casting the vote.

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This constitution, although far from perfect, is much better than any now in use.

It is of vital importance; to have a constitution that is elastic and just. It should always be easy to repeal laws, and difficult to enact them.

Governments constantly tend toward tyranny and severity, instead of toward liberty; the liberty we have, has been gained in spite of government, by the force of public opinion.

The individual should be sovereign, and government officials servants of the people.

All laws should expire at the end of the twentieth year, because they are apt to become hindrances to progress, and because the present generation has no right to make laws for the next. There should be as little government, dictation or control of the individual as possible, because it is inconsistent with his natural right. Some government, however,

will be necessary under the freest possible conditions. One of the founders of the United States said: "That government is best that governs least."

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### TAXATION.

Now, my Boys, I want to talk to you about Taxation.

When I lived in Vermont, many years ago, if men wished to buy anything at the store they said, "what do you tax for it." To the doctor: "What did you tax me, for coming to see my child?"

As then understood, a tax was the price of some benefit received. Therefore as a tax, it was not in itself unjust.

The taxes which a farmer pays, are supposed to be just, for the tax is a payment to town, county and state officials for acting as agents of the people; also for the erection of necessary government buildings; the making of roads, bridges, etc.

In this sense taxes are just, if they are not more than the services rendered, are worth. *The apportionment* of taxes, may be *unjust*.

Farmers are "taxed to death."

They are often taxed out of their occupation. In old times, the dogs were killing off our sheep. So we got the Legislature to put a heavy tax on dogs. That tax killed off the dogs, and let the sheep live.

It looks as though Congress, and our State Legislatures are in a conspiracy to kill off the farmer, for the benefit of the monopolists.

In 1857 I left Vermont and moved to Iowa. Two years before, I had gone out there and bought raw prairie land. My taxes on one hundred and sixty acres were eight dollars per year.

In the spring of '57 the land was fenced, eighty acres broken, a good frame house built, and a barn. In the fall the assessor came around and made the following inquiries :

How many acres fenced ? How many acres plowed ?

How many bushels of wheat raised ? how many of corn ?  
potatoes ? tons of hay cut and in stack ? How many cows,  
horses and hogs ?

Value of reaper, mower, plows, harrows, corn sheller,  
winnowing machine, etc.? Value of house, barn, and furni-  
ture of house ?

I did not like to have him ask these questions, because I  
did not like to answer them.

But I must tell the truth. Telling the truth cost me fifty-  
two dollars. My taxes next year were sixty dollars, and in-  
creased every year for five years, by which time I had been  
“taxed to death !” Yes, taxed out of my occupation, by  
the additions of these taxes to tariff taxes ! So I quit.

I had been punished by the state of Iowa for doing a good  
thing for the community.

Instead of being lazy and living off the labor of others, I  
had pitched in and worked hard at every kind of farm work,  
and so had my sons, Ed. and Charley ; and no one worked  
harder than “ wife Sallie.” She made the butter from eight  
cows, and the State punished her for it; for the assessor

wanted to know how many pounds she had made, and taxed it.

On the east, west, north, south lay uncultivated, unimproved quarter sections, of just such land as my own.

The improvements of my farm had raised the value of all those *vacant* lands, and the speculators held them for sale, at a higher price than before I settled there. "O yes, Dr. Chase from Vermont has settled there, and has a nice family, and the locality is becoming more desirable; for several families of his relatives will move out next fall, and then there will be a school house built just over the creek." That's what the speculators told "farm seekers."

Were the assessments raised on these vacant lands?

Oh no! The State encourages the non-cultivation of land; the State encourages laziness; the State encourages speculators to hold their lands, by low taxation.

That is in order that speculators may rob the industrious, by demanding higher prices for their lands.

Now, if the speculator should repent of his meanness, and improve his acres by plowing, fencing and building, he is at once met by the assessor and told:

"If you dare be a benefit to the community, and either labor yourself on those acres, or employ labor, I will punish you to the very extent of the law—by taxation."

"*Tax nothing but land values.*"

Supposing that the State of Iowa had done that. Then every one of the speculators would have either sold his land cheap to some one who wished to use it, or he would have employed labor on it himself.

If that had been the case my taxes need not have been more than twenty dollars per year ; and the speculator's the same ; and the state and county would have had plenty of money to spend for roads and public buildings ; paid for, instead of selling bonds at less than par, and then paying seven per cent. interest on the face value.

What a lot of drones lived at the county seat, doing nothing but shaving notes at thirty per cent., and buying and selling quarter sections ; *God's loan to the generation of men to subsist from, and not to gamble with.*

#### ASSESSMENTS.

Taxes are now raised, by taking a percentage of the value of property. As a rule the tax is not laid on the full value. In some states, the assessment, or estimated value for the purposes of taxation, is only one-half of the selling value.

You farmers know how that is in the country ; perhaps you do not know how it works in the cities.

In the country the assessor comes around. He finds out everything that you own ; and he asks questions.

It is not very easy to cheat the country assessor. If you tell a lie he will find it out. All of your neighbors are interested in your affairs. They are going to make you pay your share of taxes. And if you make incorrect returns, your neighbors will correct them for you, with the assessor.

But how does it work in the city ? I will tell you about St. Louis, and it is the same in St. Paul, Minneapolis, or other large places.

The citizen is sent a blank. He writes down all he pleases,

and no more, and swears to it. The poor man writes down all he has, as a rule, for, as a rule he is more honest. The well-to-do and rich write down mighty little.

With piano, pictures, furniture, etc., worth ten thousand dollars, he will return one thousand. If he has bonds and cash to the amount of five hundred thousand dollars, he will not return one cent. If worth five millions in stocks, bonds, cash, he *may* return fifty thousand dollars. And the assessor does nothing about it.

If the rich man has a million dollars deposited in a bank he draws it out, takes a certified check, and says, "Mr. Cashier, will you please keep this in your vault two or three days?" And then the cashier swears that Mr. Millionaire has no money on deposit in bank. "They all do it," is the excuse for cheating.

The poor people of cities are those who pay the taxes.

Houses cannot be hidden and so they are "returned" at one half what they are worth. Vacant lots are often returned at one-sixth of their worth.

I asked Mr. Turner what he would sell a corner vacant lot for, 100 feet by 100 feet. He said eighty thousand dollars. Then I went to the assessor's office and found it assessed at sixteen thousand. And so the owner did not care to sell it, except at ten thousand more than it would then bring, because his taxes on it were so light.

With all this lying, this perjury, this avoiding taxation in the cities, do you farmers not see that the taxation between the country and the city is unequal?

*Farmers, you pay double your share of direct taxation.*

## THE BOARD OF EQUALIZATION?

Oh, I know all about that. The *influence* of plutocratic wealth settles all that in favor of the cities.

No contest has yet taken place between the very "rich" and the "well-to-do" citizens, that the rich have not beaten both the well-to-do and the poor; *and they will continue to do so, just as long as the present system of taxation is in operation.*

Taxation of personal property in St. Louis, Chicago, New York, Boston, Philadelphia and all other cities in the United States, has proved an utter failure, so far as getting it fairly assessed, is concerned. This is the testimony of every assessor.

Why is it that "good men," as the world goes, lie so, and thus get rid of paying a great sum of money into the treasury of the people? There are so many answers. that I won't mention them now, perhaps I will by and by.

Boys, you see the farmer is continually robbed by the cities, because personal property in the cities cannot be discovered in order to be taxed, and it will continue to be so as long as men are dishonest.

Men have a feeling that taxation is robbery. My neighbor, a lady, told the assessor last summer that he ought to be ashamed to come around every year, and rob her, and she said: "My husband worked hard day after day and month after month, to get money enough to buy the furniture in this house, and now you come around and want us to pay for it again; and we will have to pay for it, in city taxes, twice over, before it is worn out."

This feeling is very prevalent among both poor and rich, and there must be a just foundation for such a sentiment.

All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation, it is robbery.

And I think the present system of taxation is unnecessary taxation; for there is a natural source of revenue for all expenses of government, both national and state.

It is the commercial price for the use of land and lots, aside from improvements; and I think it is so true that I have had a rubber stamp made, with which to print it on all the letters I mail, in order that it may prove to be a successful missionary short-tract.

It is this: "The rent of land and government expenses are both caused by population. Let one pay the other."

Now my boys, don't say "humbug." If you will open your mind to the light of truth, I can help you to understand this, and admire the beautiful justice of it.

Nothing is good that is not just.

Justice is a principle away down at the bottom of all good things, and sustains them.

We have already seen that every person on this globe has an equal right to just what rights belong to you.

All the laws that men have made, cannot annul your rights; these laws may rob you, but they take from you what justice should restore to you.

If you admit that God or nature placed Adam and Eve on this great earth, then you must admit that it was from the earth that they must get their living. It was theirs to use for this purpose. As children were born to them those

children had equal rights with their parents ; and so with each successive generation of people to the present time.

#### THE COMMUNITY MAKES THE VALUE OF LAND.

All men have equal rights to whatever is gained by the general growth and improvements of the community in which they reside. Land, whether farming land or city lots, depends entirely on the growth of population for increased value.

If a farmer starts out and makes a farm in a territory of thirty miles square, where there is not another living being, the price of his land, if he has to buy it, will be very low ; let us put it at one dollar and a quarter per acre.

By the time two hundred farmers have settled in that county land equally desirable with his land, would sell for two dollars and a half per acre. By the time one thousand farmers have settled there land would be worth four dollars per acre ; and when there were three thousand farmers and three thousand families averaging five persons each, the land would average twelve or thirteen dollars per acre.

How do I know that ? I know it by experiment, study, observation.

The "dirt" value of any community in the United States, is very nearly five hundred dollars to each inhabitant whether in the country or in the city.

Where there is freedom for the population to spread out, the figures are true as a rule. Where population is confined as it is in Boston and New York, by water, the value rises to

seven or eight hundred dollars per inhabitant. By value I mean worth, estimation, use.

Price relates to money, or exchange of merchandise, or labor, or of privilege, or humbug.

When I speak of taking the "rental value" of land, I mean the *price* of the rental value. And I also mean the free *competitive* price of that rental.

I am speaking of the selling value, or holding value, and not the assessor's valuation.

The rule of five hundred dollars per inhabitant applies to such cities as St. Louis, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Fargo and to any county in which you farmers live, and you can easily prove it.

And so every child born in the state of Missouri adds five hundred dollars to the selling price of the land of the whole state. If the child is born in the city of St. Louis it adds that value to the city lots of St. Louis.

The selling price of land determines its rent.

The rent of a building lot in St. Louis is about one-twentieth of its selling value. A lot worth ten thousand dollars will rent for five or six hundred dollars a year for ten years. At that time it must be re-valued, for if the population of the city should increase, the land as a rule, will sell higher and rent higher.

I, at one time, lived on a corner of Olive street. It was a hired house. A man came from Chicago and offered the owner of the place, which was 50 by 150 feet, twenty thousand dollars per year rent for fifty years; and that man erected a stone mercantile building on it at a cost of three

hundred thousand dollars. The building is filled with people who are paying all the land rent and all the building rent, besides the taxes, the wear and tear and the insurance.

The children of a dead man are getting \$20,000 a year for nothing done by themselves or done by the dead man ; but done by the industry and activity of four hundred and sixty-three thousand people.

These thousands of people have built houses, paved streets, made street railroads, put up telegraphs, telephones, etc., and pay over six millions of dollars a year for the government of St. Louis ; which government means all public expenses.

That \$20,000 a year received by the dead man's children being a sum earned by the community, *belongs* to the community, and in justice should be *used* by the community to pay its expenses of government ; for the rent of land and government expenses, are both caused by population. Let one pay for the other. And being justice, is therefore the law of God ; the law of nature. How beautiful are all the laws of nature ! How beautiful this economic law that the rent of land will always be enough to pay the expenses of government.

St. Louis pays millions of dollars yearly for the safety and comfort of its inhabitants.

It does not spend enough. It does not take decent care of the insane, sick and indigent.

It has a moral right, a natural right to fifteen millions of dollars yearly as the rent of the bare dirt location of St. Louis.

It justly belongs in the city treasury, in the treasury of the

people. If that could be, and it will be in a few years, there wou'd be no taxes on houses, stores, manufactories. No taxes on furniture or merchandise. No taxes on men for buying and selling. No taxes on horses, vehicles, etc. No taxes on anything except things we wished to destroy.

#### TAXES DISCOURAGE INDUSTRY.

Some things can be put out of existence by taxation. The usefulness of some things can be impaired or destroyed by taxation. But *land* is one thing in the world whose usefulness cannot be impaired by taxation. This is one thing in the world, that you cannot destroy or lessen the value of, by taxation or by any other means whatever.

There is one gift of nature to all mankind, that monopolists can, and do control, and make the rest of the world pay them for its use.

By violence, by war, by usurpation, by fraud, the robbers of all ages have compelled the rest of the people to pay them tribute for the use of God's great gift to all mankind:

“MOTHER EARTH;”

who offers her bosom to all her children with equal love.

And the great mass of mankind have allowed themselves to be humbugged into the belief that land monopoly is now right, because it has been so long in existence; just as though a wicked principle could become a good principle by age.

The laws of land monopoly were made by men: Men will by and by abolish those wicked laws.

Private ownership of land is wrong!

*Private possession of land is right*, when the price for that yearly and exclusive possession goes into the treasuries of the people.

#### EXCLUSIVE POSSESSION.

*Farmers must have exclusive possession of their acres*, in order to have security for their labor, their crops, their orchards, their fences, their houses, their barns.

They must have exclusive possession of their homes in order to have ambition to improve them; in order to have ambition to get good roads, good schools, good churches, good county buildings.

For some years past, mortgaged farmers have had very serious doubts about the tenure of their farms. They are now afraid they will lose them, and that very fear prevents them from setting out forest trees, fruit trees, and making other permanent improvements.

*Thousands of farmers now wish it had been impossible to mortgage their farms.* The selling value of their land has been a trap into which they have fallen, and now they are liable to be starved out. Borrowed money is often a fatal bait.

If there was no buying and selling of land, then there could be only the buying and selling of the value of improvements, and a bonus for possession.

No money could be borrowed on land, for it would have no selling value, and could not be mortgaged.

A farm and home would be forever secure to the possessor, as long as he paid his tax. Even if a man's farm is not

now mortgaged, it is secured to him only as long as he pays his taxes.

If there was no selling value to the bare land of a farm, a farmer who wishes to change his location, would not have to buy the bare land of another. He would sell his improvements, and purchase the improvements of the other.

If a man wished to sell his farm and go into a city, and purchase a house to live in, or a store to sell goods in, he would pay nothing for the lot; but he would buy the building.

If he wished to build on a vacant lot, he would pay nothing for it, except a yearly tax amounting to its "rental value," to the government. The rental value of land is low in the country and high in cities.

When all taxes are abolished, except the one tax of rent on land, the cities will pay more tax than now, and the farms will pay far less.

#### THE SINGLE TAX.

The single tax means the abolition of all taxes upon labor or the products of labor—that is, the abolition of all taxes save *one* tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of improvements.

If the "Single Tax" was in operation in Missouri to-day, the city of St. Louis would have fifteen millions of cash yearly. Five millions of this might go to the rest of the state to pay general expenses; and other cities would contribute in like proportion.

Thus farmers would be relieved of their present great

burden of taxes, and yet have plenty of money for improved roads, bridges, etc.

Farmers must understand thoroughly, that the land tax can only be assessed on the bare value of land before it is plowed, or any human labor employed on it.

Whatever such land would rent for at auction, would be the guide of the assessor in making his figures.

Assessment under the "Single Tax" would be as now; once in two years.

The same system of assessment, and tax collection could be as now, only the "Single Tax" would do away with the expense of many officials, which would certainly be desirable.

The tax on land values, or rents could never be more than they would be worth, for the tax on land, or rent, is now all it will stand, for men sell as high as they can; but now it goes into the pockets of men, instead of into the public pocket.

Under the "Single Tax," a poor man would find plenty of inferior land that no speculator would pay taxes on; and thus had been sold, and bought in by the county. He would go on to that land as a squatter and make his little farm, and no one could dispossess him as long as he paid the small tax, or no tax upon it, for the tax would be no more than an improver would be willing to pay.

*Speculative* value would be dead, and such a thing as a land-speculator could not exist.

A great era of prosperity to farmers and all others would ensue if all tariffs and all taxes were abolished.

"Free Trade" means not only the free exchange of labor

between different states, domestic and foreign, but it means free exchange of labor between individuals.

Free exchange of labor between persons cannot exist where people are denied their natural rights to apply their labor to nature herself. Justice calls for equal right to the use of the land itself, or an equal right to the rent which use, and the community produces.

The rent of land is not a steady quantity. It is always varying. If a community is prospering, rent constantly increases. If the contrary condition is the case with the community, then rent decreases.

Under the "Single Tax" every man would have his share of rent, for it would go into the public purse. Under "Single Tax" every person would pay his share of taxation, for his share of public money, "rent money," would be taken from the public purse and used for government expenses; used for the very purposes for which taxation is now employed.

No man could be made to pay either more or less than his proportion of taxes.

#### A SINGLE TAX ARGUMENT.

#### POPULATION CAUSES RENT.

In South Dakota is a town called Garretson. A new railroad had left the town of Pallisade so far to one side that the people abandoned that place, and moved their houses to the station called Garretson.

Immediately the lot-owners raised their prices for lots all they would bear, and continued to do so as population in-

creased. The lots were worth from \$200 upward. But at Pallisade the lots are now worth nothing, for it is population that causes the rent of land.

At Pallisade there is no population, and no rent. But at Garretson there is a growing population, and a growing rent.

At Pallisade there are no city expenses. At Garretson the city expenses increase in proportion to population, and rent.

There should be no taxes at Garretson, for rent should go into the city treasury and pay all city expenses ; for the population caused rent. Here is a practical showing of "the Single Tax" argument.

*How will the "Single Tax" benefit all people?* This "Single Tax" is not a true name, and we "free-land" men, use it only for convenience ; it is a bridge which we shall use only a few years until *all* taxation is abolished, and only rent is taken for all government expenses.

Whatever will benefit the farmers as a whole class, must benefit all other classes of labor ; for the whole prosperity of the world rests upon agriculture.

The first thing a people must have is food. A barren rock in mid-ocean, a hundred miles square, incapable of raising the least particle of food from itself, might contain a million of industrious people, rich in everything that makes a comfortable and luxurious life, if they may have freedom to *trade* where they choose. For they could buy food, and raw materials to manufacture. And as long as they could be supplied with these things, they could turn their whole

attention to manufacturing. When farmers are doing well all other labor flourishes, as a rule; for the more a farmer can get for his labor, the greater the activity of all other labor to supply the luxuries as well as the necessities of the prosperous farmer.

On the other hand the farmer prospers when all other labor prospers; for all other people who do the work of the community can purchase more of the farmers' products; and when trade is free, agricultural products *must* rise in price, when the ability to buy and use is greater among mechanics, factory-men and business-men.

If all these men had no taxes to pay, such as we now call taxes, they would have more money to devote to their own necessities and luxuries.

If all taxation were abolished, trade would be free.

If all taxation were abolished, a mighty load would be removed from every kind of honest labor. And the burden would be transferred to the shoulders of the *robbers* and the *thieves*, who live without laboring themselves, and they would very soon be unable to practice their professions; and that would, in about one generation or less, wipe them out of existence, for they would be either in the poor house, the penitentiary, or the grave.

Suppose all taxation abolished, and all of the rent taken by government for naked land, lots, mining lands, etc. Under those conditions no one is holding land or lots that he is not making good use of, for he can't pay rent unless he is making *more* than the rent by using the land, lots, mines, etc.

Labor would be in great demand in order to utilize the land; wages would rise.

All land or lots that could not be made useful by competition would fall back to the city, the county, the state, and any or all of this land could be occupied by any one without rent, until two or more persons applied for the same land or lot.

No mechanic or factory-hand or farm-hand would then work for less wages than the sum he could make for himself on vacant land. Thus: The single tax would immediately relieve the "glut" of the labor market.

The land-speculator-robber would be obliged to improve his land by cultivation, in order to pay the rent. The city-lot-speculator-robber would be obliged to hire mechanics and erect a dwelling house or a store in order to pay his rent.

How long do you think John Smith would be willing to pay four thousand eight hundred dollars yearly taxes on the lot around the corner, when, keep it as long as he could, it would not sell for more than one hundred dollars?

The single tax in operation would cause a jump in all departments of labor and industry.

Just think of the

#### GLORIOUS ERA

that is coming and near. I am seventy-one years old and may not live to see it. But some of you, farmers will, for it will be here in 1900.

O, how glad I am for my children, and grandchildren, and for yours too. Take hope.

I know what some of you are thinking about. "Well, Pa Chase is going to make us farmers, pay all the taxes after all."

Think it out, and you will see how absurd that is.

When the single tax comes, the owner of the city lot will charge the tax-rent, and the house-rent to the occupier, and then pay the rent-tax in to the city treasury. Now he puts it into his own pocket.

It will be no use for him to try to make the occupier pay more than the rent-tax, for if he did, the city would take it for its own treasury. The owner of the house will merely collect the tax-rent for the city's use.

He cannot help doing that for the building and lot will both be held for the tax-rent and lot-rent.

#### COMPENSATION TO LANDOWNERS.

Thus wrote Ralph Waldo Emerson, in reference to the proposition to compensate slave-owners :

"Pay ransom to the owner,  
And fill the bag to the brim!  
*Who is the land-owner?* The slave is the owner;  
And ever was; *Pay him!*"

There is no owner of land; there never was, and never will be.

If any are to be compensated, let it be the people, who have so long been deprived of their rights, by private monopoly in land. Let the monopolists reimburse the people.

**THE POLICE POWER OF THE NATION.**

Every city of Europe is full of churches. Thousands of Christian crosses are standing at the cross-roads of all Europe.

The cities of the United States are also full of churches. Thousands of meeting houses dot the landscape of the more unsettled districts.

Those European states contain millions of men armed with guns and swords, ready at a moments notice to commence butchering each other.

They are ready also to fire the cities of each other, and to devastate the farms of innocent working people who wish to be let alone.

Those millions of men who might be in the field and workshops making the good things that every one would like to use, are taken away from their homes by

**THE GOVERNMENT,**

and compelled to kill people whom they do not hate.

The men women and children who are left at home are obliged to work more hours, and harder hours, and have less to eat and to wear because the governors of countries *will* have a *Standing Army and Navy*.

The people of these United States have blindly followed in the foot-steps of European custom. "O yes, America must have an army and navy!" It is aristocratic. Therefore Republicans and Democrats must have a fighting force!

And so the people who work must give of their time, about seventy millions of days work per annum, in order to feed

and clothe *the killing-profession*. Even if they kill nobody in years, yet they must shoot away lots of powder, so as to make a big noise in order to scare the European Nations into being good friends. Or in order to

**DARE THEM TO FIGHT.**

Now boys, see how absurd this is. Suppose you always carried loaded guns when you went to exchange some oats for wheat, with your neighbor!

Suppose you always carried loaded guns, when you were invited out to take supper and spend the evening with neighbors!

Suppose you always kept loaded cannon pointing at the gates where your neighbors might drive in to trade horses with you, or for social visits.

Suppose, Dick Oglesby, you always strutted about with "a chip on your shoulder," daring the boys of your neighborhood to "knock it off!" Are these doings the best way to keep the peace?

Is that the way Quaker Wm. Penn kept peace with the wild Indian tribes of Pennsylvania? Is that the way

**THE BLESSED MAN JESUS**

taught the people of this world to do, when he lived in it? Why don't the people who say they are Christ's people, do what Christ told them to do?

People have disobeyed Jesus for nearly two thousand years! People have disobeyed the law of natural right as long as that; oh yes, longer! Is it not time for people to begin to obey right? Obey justice? Obey Jesus?

Some of you boys say: "That sounds all right to read, but I'll be blamed if I can see

HOW WE CAN GET ALONG WITHOUT AN ARMY  
AND NAVY."

We can't tell until we try. It is considered cowardly to attack Quaker people, or other persons opposed to fighting, and also defenseless people. It is considered cowardly in any Nation to attack defenseless Nations.

You big boys won't see a small boy put upon, by a big boy. You yell out: "Let him alone why don't you take one of your size?" That's the sense of right.

The origin of war, in nearly every case, is something about trade. The United States Governor, and the Great Britian Governor, are each ready at this moment to set *other* people to fighting about some seal skins, or muskrat skins, that grow up in northern oceans. Nonsense!

Why don't Harrison and Victoria have a fight in a prize ring and settle it. And settle it this way: The Victor to have the oceans and the Defeated the gate money.

Restricted trade makes enemies.

Free trade makes friends.

Which is the best?

Now, Dick Oglesby, and you other boys, I want you to preach free-trade until you go to Congress. After you are in Congress vote to sell the Custom Houses. Until you get to Congress preach "the smallest possible army and navy." And preach:

No cannon in our harbors, to threaten trading or visiting

ships. When you get to Congress, vote to turn the warships into trading-vessels.

Vote to melt the Fort-cannon into plowshares.

Vote to discharge all the *Privates* in the army and navy; and put the officers on "half-pay," until wanted.

But if you think that we must have some sort of a "National Police Force," why let there be a skeleton army that can be immediately filled up.

- The young men of this country are always ready to defend a just cause; and would fly to its support when needed.

The moral support of the whole world comes to the defense of a just cause, and will demand arbitration. Nations, more and more submit their differences to arbitration; just as Individuals do; for common sense teaches it to be the better way.

Common sense is the natural sense of right.

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#### TREATMENT OF CRIME.

One of the most interesting subjects to consider in Political Economy is the treatment of crime.

If all persons in the community respected the private rights and the equal rights of individuals, there would be no crime. But this is not the case, and until the Race develops into a higher civilization than history tells us of, we must deal with crime and criminals.

One of the principal reasons for organized government is to protect persons and property from physical violence, and

to insure as far as may be the enjoyment of equal rights by every person in the State.

While crimes against the physical bodies of "persons" are of a more aggravated character, as a rule, than those committed against "property," it will be found in many cases that crimes against property are as great as crimes against persons, and in fact are crimes against persons.

A poor person's property is more a part of himself than that belonging to a rich man, for the poor person's property may be his daily bread, not only for himself, but for his wife and children. A person may as justly be shot dead as to be starved to death.

A crime against property in the case of the rich man might give him no physical inconvenience, while the same crime against the poor man might not only be life-long distress for himself and family, but might be death itself.

While the written law of justice must be the same for all, yet in its application to individual cases, the unwritten law of ethical right should be applied to the treatment of special cases of crime. Therefore I consider that the theft of ten dollars from the rich man is not so great a crime as the theft of ten dollars from the poor man; although the written law might not thus treat the case.

The "Court" should deal out justice, and justice only, under all circumstances.

#### CRIMES

are those actions which violate private "right" or equal right. Without a violation of rights there can be no crime. Unless a person violates natural right, or equal right, that person is

no criminal, even if the "Statute law" declares the contrary.

Natural or personal right can never be impaired or abrogated. It may be withheld, but the business of the government is to restore the right, and that restoration is *due*, no matter how long it has been held in abeyance.

I advise you to criticise the "law" and all proposed legislation. Constant attention to the insidious growth of "wrongs," of injustice, is the price of liberty.

What shall we *do* with the criminal? The criminal is always a robber or a thief. He must make restitution. Is that all? Perhaps so, if it is the first conviction.

If a robber by profession he must make restitution if possible, and then be deprived of liberty for a longer or shorter time, for the purpose of reformation.

If the criminal has committed murder he cannot make restitution. It is an aggravated crime because he has *destroyed* the natural rights of a citizen; and he is *withholding* the right of wife and children, perhaps, and has injured the moral tone of natural right in all society.

Such a criminal must lose his personal liberty by confinement, and in such manner that he may have time to repent, and become at heart a better person.

Punishment is only another name for revenge, and therefore should form no part in government action regarding criminals. Repentance carries with it the sense of restitution; therefore the property of the criminal should be taken for that purpose unless it will injure other innocent persons. The rights of some innocent persons should not be violated in order to make good the impaired rights of other innocent

persons. For instance: A murderer's family should not be made beggars by the law, in order to keep beggary from the family of the killed man.

If you will continually measure all judgments of the law by the *natural law of right*, you will, after awhile, restore something like Justice to the Courts. Justice; Right; Law; each meant all the same in *theory*, in Roman Jurisprudence.

I could write a volume on "The Treatment of Criminals" with much satisfaction to myself, but I am afraid not to you, young men, for I know from experience, that young persons are in favor of revenge for injuries. With the evolution of "morals" and the evolution of "age," they change their opinions.

I cannot too often tell you, boys, that the reason for organizing a government at all is for the *adjustment of rights*. Persons must be protected in body, in reputation, in property. Everything in civilization comes to the law of right. The making of roads; the laying out of a city; the building of houses, factories, gas-works, water-works, telegraph, and the erection of public libraries, museums, and other community necessaries and luxuries.

Is the law of equal right violated when the individual is *compelled* to do his share of public work? If he does *not* perform his share, then is he not violating the rights of all others in the community? Some of my friends say that "he should not be *compelled*." Then I say that he should leave the community, and live alone in the desert.

Mankind naturally like society. Let men *pay* for society if they desire it; it is worth the cost.

When I was a young farmer, I took my team and went forty miles after a friend, in order to get himself and family to settle on the adjoining bit of "wild land." You, young men, know how that is, for you will ride five miles through the mud, on a dark night, in order to go to a dance, "and see all the folks."

The law of equal right demands that the criminal be compelled to surrender, for a longer or shorter time, his own personal rights. Self-preservation is a law of Nature; it is a law of natural right, and therefore an attack may be repelled, and the equal rights of the community maintained. To a certain extent the criminal has forfeited his natural right of liberty. But to inflict physical punishment, is to commit another crime.

The injured party might be justified in inflicting, in some cases, severe punishment, but I question the wisdom of such a course. And I deny the right of any other person or persons to inflict punishment in behalf of the injured party. This savors to much of revenge. It must not be lost sight of for a moment, that in all probability there will be very much less crime under *free* conditions.

When a person is convicted of crime, let the State put him in a reformatory, to be released when there is good evidence that he will "behave" himself. While he is there let him work at some trade, and give the results to his family, or to those whom he has wronged.

The present mode of treating criminals is a crime itself. The people who make and sustain these unjust laws against criminals are as wicked and ignorant as those they are help-

ing to destroy in jails and penitentiaries. The present treatment of criminals is sure to seriously impair whatever moral character they may have when arrested. No person is wholly depraved. No criminal is without the spark that could kindle into a flame a better character, if society would furnish the means.

It is cruel to dress convicts in a garb of dishonor. To make men better, they must have self-respect, and that feeling must be encouraged. Let us abolish punishment. Let us try reformation.

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#### THE DEATH PENALTY.

Has every person a right to his own life? Has every person a right to his own property? If one person robs another of his property, has the thief a right to keep it? Shall he restore the stolen property in order to make restitution? If he cannot restore the stolen property, shall he give an equivalent of his own? If he does that, does he make restitution? Is it a benefit to the person robbed to receive restitution? If the thief burns my property, and refuses to make restitution, will it benefit me if I burn his property?

If he has no property, and is incapable, from sickness or death, of making restitution, will it benefit me to destroy the property of his wife and children? If it will do me no good to revenge myself in this way, will it do the "State" any good?

If I take a man's life, can I make restitution by giving up my own? Will that restore his life?

Will the giving up of my life be of any benefit to his wife and children? Will the giving up of my life be of any benefit to the "State"?

Have I any right to destroy the life of another? If I do that, has his wife or children a right to destroy mine? Have I a right to destroy my own life?

Does not the "State" hold the "theory" that human life is so sacred a thing that no person has the right to destroy his own life?

If life is so sacred a thing that the owner of it has no right to destroy it, has any other person a right to destroy it? Have two persons the right? Have a thousand consenting persons?

Premeditated killing of a human being is murder, whether by the "State" or the individual.

Murder is a contagious disease! Murder-thought is murder-yeast. One murder ferments in the public thought, and other murders soon follow.

Newspapers are yeast-pots of murder. Thousands read the harrowing details, and the murder-yeast ferments in receptive brains and hearts, and more murders are born.

The "State" murders a man because he has committed murder; and thus a national murder-yeast is brewed, which multiplies to the delight of newsboys, the cash box of newspapers, and the debased public mind.

The highest ethics of civilized and half civilized nations is love, and not revenge. The old religions taught revenge.

Jesus denounced that principle, and was murdered for preaching the rule of love and forgiveness.

Pretended followers of that Christ have abandoned those principles, and advocate revenge by the "State."

Being ashamed to acknowledge it for themselves, they endeavor to spread the responsibility of committing murder over the whole people as a soulless corporation, but that cannot be done, for every person is an integral part of the State, and is responsible for the laws and action of the State, so far as he acquiesces in its enactments. Persons who advocate legal murder are as responsible as an individual in a mob is, which commits the same crime.

The rights and responsibilities of the "State" are equally the rights and responsibilities of the "individual"; for they can be no higher than those of the individuals composing the "State."

As a rule, does not the murder of a man cause great suffering of mind and heart among his immediate relatives and friends? Does it not often cause them poverty and physical suffering?

As a rule, is there any dishonor attached to the memory of the dead man from the mere fact that he was thus killed?

As a rule, is there any dishonor thrown upon his family on that account?

On the other hand, what is the fact relating to the man whom the law murders? Whom the community murders? Does not ignominy attach to his memory for one, two, three generations?

Do not the wife and family share in this disgrace? Does

not a cloud of reproach dim the lives of children and grandchildren?

Why does the crime that the people *unite* in committing transcend so much the iniquity of the personal murder?

Why does it inflict so much more sorrow and disgrace than an individual murder? Has not the "State"-murder multiplied sorrow in proportion to the number of people engaged in it?

Can there be a more cold-blooded, premeditated murder than that which the State commits, after waiting months and years before perpetrating the crime?

Three millions of people unite in murdering a man whom they have never even seen or spoken to!

Think of the fiendish brutality of the State, which keeps its victim shut up for six years, with the hangman's rope dangling in his sight! Thus a cat tortures the mouse which it at last kills.

The ethics of expediency always correlate with personal right; true expediency is justice.

It is not expedient to kill the murderer owing to serious doubts of the sanity of the criminal.

The murderous appetite was perhaps inherited. The State kills persons innocent of that crime. State murders do not prevent personal murders.

Shall the State teach revenge to our children? Shall it reverse the ethical law of mankind which has obtained in all historical ages, expressed in the saying of Buddha:

"Do not unto others that which you wish should not be done unto you."

Are you willing that the State shall teach a principle that you deprecate in your own home? Shall the law of hate, of unforgiveness, of unforgetting, of revenge, be the family chord of union? Brutes fight for the opportunity to gratify their physical desires, and to preserve their lives.

That is the law of instinct. But revenge forms no part of their natures, as a rule. No feud is taken up by their relatives or the common herd. Sympathy for each other exists, and they render each other aid in sickness or injury.

The illustrated law of evolution shows more and more of this, as the ascent is higher and higher.

All along the line of historical civilization, we can observe the passions of hate and revenge left more and more behind.

We may see where any nation stands in civilization and enlightenment by its punishments.

Some people are always far in advance of the whole body, but the laws of a State are a sure indication of the ethical condition of the majority of its voters.

Suppose there is a hereafter-world. How will you like to meet the man whom you have helped to murder?

Perhaps he will say, "I was innocent." "I was insane." "I inherited the murder appetite." "It forced me beyond my will."

Or: "It is true that I was guilty, but I became truly penitent before you killed me, and I could have become a useful member of society if you had not sent me into this life."

Or: "Yes, I was guilty of the killing, but how could you, as a member of the Christian church, violate a fundamental

principle of Jesus Christ in giving your sanction to my 'legal murder'? Did not Jesus teach you to forgive, not seven times, but seventy times seven? I will not blame you for your crime; but if the State had put me into such confinement that I could not have done further harm, under the law of kindness I could have learned much better how to love than to hate.

Young men, I have written thus fully, on this subject because I want you to learn to analyse all questions, by the law of right. The practice of other States, of other Nations should not influence you at all, in your decisions.

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#### RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION.

"*Thou shalt not*" does nothing for morality; and morality means right.

"*Thou shalt not*" never elevated a human soul "one jot." Trace all the "*shalt nots*" to their final exemplification and you will see more evil than good in them.

"*Shalt not*" weakens the moral forces of the mind. It rouses the natural antagonism to oppression.

"*Shalt not*" removes responsibility of self control.

"*Shalt not*" invades natural right.

"*Shalt not*" never prevented a murder, robbery or theft.

"*Shalt not*" has instigated millions of crimes.

In most cases "*Shalt not*" is a crime in itself.

I am entitled to myself; to my freedom; nearly all "*sh*

nots" rob me of my freedom. I am my own judge ; my own justice ; my own right.

I refuse to submit to the standard of others, whether in politics or religion ; in thought or sentiment. But I hold myself responsible to society for the just exercise of my freedom.

COURTS,  
should be only *Courts of Equity*.

They should be tribunals ascertaining the truth regarding the violation of the law of equal rights, and of personal right.

Have I killed, or robbed, or stolen ? Arrest me.

Have I smoked, or drank or broken the sabbath ? Set me free.

Have I sold opium, or rum ? Set me free.

All Restrictive Legislation is Paternalism ; and all Paternalism is Restrictive Legislation.

When one man violates the natural rights of another, let the court hold him responsible. There is no need of naming by law, the various crimes, for there are millions of them.

The judge should recognize each case brought before him by the measure of private right ; equal right. If he will instruct a jury to decide the case according to equity, the chances are all the better for justice.

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#### THE RUM POWER.

The great moral movement to destroy the rum power commenced in Vermont, when I was a boy eight years old.

At, and before this time all kinds of alcoholic drinks were sold in all taverns, and in all stores. All families daily drank more or less of these unhealthy and demoralizing liquors.

My father was a physician and a progressive man. He immediately enlisted in the cause of reform, and not only preached temperance, but abstinence. My own sympathies were enlisted in the work. Temperance societies were formed all over the state of Vermont.

I was active in this society-work up to about 1845. We fought the power of rum on *hygienic* principles at first, and later on *moral* principles; but never by force, until we had *persuaded* nearly all the tavern-keepers, and store-keepers to abandon the sale of intoxicating liquors.

About 1845 the state of Maine passed a prohibition act. The temperance people of Vermont were induced, by false philosophy into the same measure, the following year. We had really got tired of preaching, and thought we could carry the good work of temperance to completion by a coercive law; and so we passed a prohibitive law. As soon as the "thou shalt not" law was passed, the moral and hygienic propaganda halted, sickened, died.

I was disappointed. All true lovers of reform were disappointed. From that day to this the temperance sentiment in Vermont has not grown. It has receded. There is not a school district in the whole state where some sort of intoxicating liquor is not sold. Never till then, did my mind receive the truth: that *coercion cannot promote morality*.

Nothing dependent upon human appetites and passions can be abolished by written law. People cannot be made

moral by law. I wish you young men to know that "Pa" Chase is not, and never was a drinking man, after he was eight years old.

All liquor drinking is bad for the health, and dangerous to morality. Use no stimulants, yourself, and *do* work for temperance. The rum power is in politics. The rum power, or saloon power is a tremendous power in elections. It is a dangerous power.

What gives the saloon such power? Is it not sustained by a monopoly law? If trade in rum was free there would be small profit in selling it.

Free Rum would take all respectability out of that trade. If there were no licenses to create the monopoly, any person could sell it who chose to do so. Then the saloon power would cease to exist; for only *large* profits can sustain *that* kind of trade.

The influence of the saloons in politics, or any other business regulated by special legislation, can be destroyed by reversing the process by which such influence is created: By repealing those laws. By enacting special laws for the regulation of any business, a class is created that is directly interested in legislation, and any proposed changes are likely, in some way to interfere with its business interests, and so it corrupts legislatures in a variety of ways.

Prohibition is wrong in principle because it violates the equal freedom of individuals; it attempts to govern some people, by other peoples consciences, which has always proved a failure and always will. It is closely related to the

superstition of the divine right of kings, and ere long the people will become quite as much ashamed of it.

With the decrease of poverty that would attend the increase of liberty, intemperance would almost if not entirely, cease.

The rum power never showed greater strength, or greater wickedness than during Grant's second term as president. The whisky-men made fortunes, by debauching the government officials who had charge of the internal revenue; and the highest men in office were implicated in the frauds upon the people by which taxed whisky received no taxes from these government-protected scoundrels. Had there been no tax on whisky and its kindred, there could have been no temptation to corrupt voters and legislators; no money could have been made; no outrage on public rights.

It makes no difference what kind of merchandise is highly taxed, in regard to corruption and robbery. The higher the tax, the greater the profit of the robbery, and the greater the exertions to corrupt legislatures in behalf of the trusts. For all highly taxed articles *cause* trusts and monopolies. And these robbers of industries hesitate at no means to accomplish their acts.

The following incident shows the hellish power behind taxed whisky:

"Chicago, Feb. 11, 1891.—A plot was unearthed here to-day which, if it had been carried out, would have resulted in the destruction of at least one hundred and fifty lives and an immense amount of property. The prominence of the persons involved and the exposure of the selfish motives

which prompted the plotters have produced a profound sensation among all classes. It was no less than a plan to destroy the only opposition distillery with dynamite, and involved bribery, arson and wholesale murder. \* \* \*

Solicitor Hart tells the story of the plot as follows :

"Some months ago the Treasury Department at Washington was assured that things were not just straight, from the fact that the trust people tried their best to have a certain man appointed Inspector of the Internal Revenue Department for this district." \* \* \*

Two previous attempts which were attributed to the whisky trust but not proven were made to destroy Shufeldt's with dynamite. One of them occurred two years ago last fall."

Thus it is that monopolies make war not only on the people but on each other.

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### PROTECTION.

Protection to what? That word is commonly used in connection with industry. It seems to me that industry needs no protection. It merely needs to be *let alone*. It can take care of itself. Protection in American politics means restriction of trade. Restriction of trade is restriction of production.

Protection means taxation. Protection *compels* the consumer of goods to pay a higher price for those goods, than he would otherwise have to, if there was no protection. The consumer is robbed, not only of his natural right to

trade where he pleases, but he is robbed of his money, that is: of his labor.

Labor is protected all it can be, when it has freedom of production, and of exchange. No goods are ever brought into the United States and sold, without causing a sufficient amount of paid labor in the United States, to exchange for those imported goods.

If Europe is willing to give us twelve hours work for eight hours work, we ought to be glad that it finds it desirable to trade with us on those terms. All around it is a free and willing trade. The reason that people trade is: they consider it a mutual benefit.

European goods sold *here*, cause an equal value of American goods to be sold there. There is a great falling off of exports from Germany to the United States, since that country raised the duties on American agricultural products. This is not an exceptional case. It is the rule in trade, that exports must be paid by imports.

For whose benefit is labor robbed?

For the manufacturer's *only*.

For the mill-hand's *never*.

There has never been protection to labor in this country. The mill-owner has always had free-trade in labor.

Whenever mill-hands became dissatisfied with their wages, they were discharged, and new hands brought from Europe. Boys, its a lie, that says: The protective tariff protects labor. Protection violates the law of equal rights.

Protection to *one* class of producers, means robbery of another class of producers.

If the law undertakes to protect *all* classes of producers, then protection does *not* protect. The balances are even ; horizontal.

All class-protection is an outrage on the law of equal right. Nearly all inspection laws are unjust. Government inspection of butter, lard, wheat, etc., are not right. Let buyers of merchandise inspect their own trading.

Let trade make its own laws of inspection. *Trade should ask the government for nothing but equal freedom.* Let trade say to government : "Hands off!" Free-trade can take care of itself, and asks no favors.

Congress is continually besieged by men who go to Washington to get some law passed which shall give themselves or clients special privileges. They want a chance to get a special opportunity to make money.

All special legislation pretends to be for the benefit of the whole people ; but the originators and abettors of these schemes know that it is a lie.

For thirty thousand dollars paid to each, congressmen sometimes stay away from the "House," the "Senate," because they have headaches (?)—when a wicked bill is to be passed. They stay away so that the bill *can* pass without their votes.

Those men are cowards and traitors, and should be held up for scorn. These doings are so common that the moral tone of society has fallen to the freezing point, and the people have settled down in apathy and numbness, and almost despair.

*The hope of this country is in the farmer's sons.* Boys

stand firm for the right, and never despair. Truth and right shall come by and by and to stay.

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### MATERNALISM—PATERNALISM.

“ He is tied to his mother’s apron strings ”: that is  
MATERNALISM.

“ He can do nothing without his daddy :” that is  
PATERNALISM.

Those conditions are proper to childhood.

They are contemptible and disastrous to manhood, when applied to adult life, or political life. There are two conditions of society which applaud those “ Isms.”

The plutocrats believe in keeping all wealth in the hands of the few, to be doled out in charitable pennies to the poor. The poor believe that the government “ granny ” should make their beds, prepare their food, and mend their clothes forever.

Boys, how much respect have you for mother Shipton’s twenty-four year old son, who dares not to buy a pair of suspenders without asking his “ Mama ” ? How much respect have you for his twin brother who dares not to go fishing without asking “ Pa ? ”

*Paternalism* is utterly without excuse in state and national government.

Measure all legislation *by* it.

Condemn all legislature *of* it.

Labor needs none of it.

Manufacturers need none of it.

Commerce needs none of it.

Posterity will think this generation a pack of cowards and fools.

For one, I protest, *now*.

*Paternalism is the father of restrictive legislation.* And restrictive legislation has been and is the curse of the United States.

Restrictive legislation has always been in favor of monopoly.

Whatever restrictive legislation there has been against the poor has succeeded, wonderfully.

Whatever restrictive legislation there has been against the rich has failed, wonderfully. It is time to quit such nonsense, and make

#### EQUAL FREEDOM THE LAW.

When Paternalism is once admitted as a principle of government, there is no end to its application. You must eat nothing but what the majority approve. You must go to the church which the majority approve. You must conduct your business in the way the majority desires. You must wear the style of clothes the majority desire. There must be no books or newspapers printed, except what the majority desire. You must raise only those crops which the majority desire.

This is what paternalism leads to ; and the more we have of it, the more is called for. Rather let all do as they please, while they do not interfere with the equal right of others.

Each will find out for himself what is most to his own interest, and will trade and act accordingly.

Let us see just what paternalism is. All persons have the same natural rights, and equal rights. All children have these rights to the same extent that adults have. But children have not the intelligence and physical ability to exercise their rights. Therefore :

Parents hold the rights of their children in trust. Parents must exercise the rights of children, *for* children, because parents are supposed to have more wisdom and ability than the children.

Government is created by the people; by persons. It has no greater intelligence or ability than the persons who institute the government; therefore, it should not hold the natural rights and equal rights in trust for the people.

The government can neither bestow, nor destroy rights. They are always due the individual. *All* persons in a state or nation never voted to resign their rights to a trust. Therefore a government cannot hold in trust the rights of those who oppose it.

There are always a large number of persons in a nation who desire the government to be paternal. The leaders of such a party are wicked and designing, and few in number; but the larger number are only ignorant of their rights, and so are easily seduced and led into those measures which can only result in loss of their liberties and wealth.

Paternalism undertakes to do for people, what they should do individually, according to their equal rights.

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Homes that are not happy, are no longer homes, in any good sense of the word. Infidelity in the family, breeds infidelity in the state. Dissension in the family, breeds dissension and selfish aims in legislators and governors.

No obstruction should be interposed by law to the marriage of persons who desire it.

No obstruction should be interposed by law to the divorce of persons who desire it. Obstruction in either case is a violation of the law of private right, and cannot be justified by society rights or equal rights.

So far as political science is concerned marriage is nothing more than a contract. Where both parties to a contract wish it cancelled, the contract should end. Where only one of the married persons wish the contract set aside, then the law of equal right should guide the decision of the case.

Children of the married parties have natural rights, which the law of Justice should recognize. The natural rights of children are: Care, attention, food, clothing, shelter and education. Children have the right of protection from others until they are capable of protecting themselves. And this is well provided for in parental love.

Laws granting freedom in marriage and divorce, should always carry with them justice to offspring.

It is in the family home, that justice, devotion and affection should first be taught. Love and service to each other in family life, should be the source from which must come all that ethical education, which may inspire persons to shine in private life, and do great deeds for the benefit of the race.

The happy home is the cradle of patriotism. A Patriot is

a lover of his country. All the dictionaries will tell you that. Let me tell you what I think is a patriot, in a grander, nobler sense.

A patriot is a lover of the whole human race. We are all children of One. Let us love one another.

That patriotism is wicked, narrow, contemptible which says, "I stand for my country right or wrong." Farmer's sons ! Sons of America ! Stand only for the right.

By and by you will be legislators. When you legislate for the United States, make only such laws as give to other nations the same privileges that you ask for your own.

The whole world is only a big neighborhood ! Have free friendly intercourse with these neighbors. Buy of them ! Sell to them. Delight in their prosperity. The prosperity of one nation assists in developing the prosperity of the others.

#### THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN.

All persons have equal rights, therefore children have the same rights as all other persons. During infancy only a portion of these rights can be exercised by their possessor.

Parents are the natural guardians of their own children ; and so must hold in trust the rights of their children until they are old enough in body and mind to exercise them.

Governments decide that age to be about twenty years after birth. Experience teaches that the rights held in trust for children should be *gradually* restored to children all along the line of advance from toddling infancy to adult life.

The sacredness of the trust whereby children's rights are

withheld from them for a time, is far from being generally appreciated by parents or the public.

It is certainly a *crime* for parents to withhold rights from children that they are capable of exercising. Nearly all children have felt the injustice of parental treatment, whether for punishments of wrongs committed by children, or for the supposed prevention of wrongs.

When parents violate the rights of children the government should step in to *restore* those rights.

The way to make boys *manly* and girls *womanly* is to throw them as much as possible on their own responsibility. And the way to make men and women self-reliant and self-supporting is to teach children to be so.

Parents who *withhold* the rights of children are guilty of robbery. They commit a *crime*.

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#### RELIGION—LAW—MEDICINE.

While writing this Primer, a friend asked: "Are you going to write on religion?"

"Yes," said I, "I will write about six lines, and say":

Religion is a personal matter relating only to the individual.

The state has no right to make laws in regard to it.

The state has no right to tell me how to feel or think.

The state has no right to tell me how to breathe.

No person has the right to interfere with these, my natural rights.

The state has no right to either encourage or discourage the erection of churches, or other religious institutions.

Religious houses should pay the same taxes that other houses pay. Equal right demands this.

The medical profession should be let alone also. There is no more reason for the state to regulate the practice of medicine and dentistry than there is for the state to regulate the practice of shoemaking.

There is much incompetence and dishonesty in these and all other professions and trades. The public health will never be improved, by creating a *monopoly* for the practice of medicine and dentistry.

If the public prefer to employ "Quacks" they should have the privilege of employing *any* Quack they choose; as it now is, in most of the states, people are compelled by law, to employ Quacks *in* the medical profession.

The Quacks out of the profession are denied the law of equal right, and the law of private right, and the people are denied their own rights in the choice of Quacks.

How did this monopoly of medicine arise? The doctors got up petitions among their personal friends and patients, and took them to the state capitals, and made the "Solons" believe, or pretend to believe that the people of the state were anxious to have a monopoly-act passed in behalf of science and health.

In every case it was a *lie*. And now, in Missouri after getting the Legislature to regulate the practice of medicine the doctors are on this very day (Feb. 3, '90) denying the right of the Legislature to regulate the fees of physicians.

Perhaps it would be good for these doctors to take a dose of their own medicine. All protective legislation is bad at its birth, through its life, and reacts on its promoters.

There is some necessity for sanitary law for abating nuisances that endanger the public health. Nuisances, that call for the operation of statute law, are evident to all people educated in the laws of health; and such laws can never infringe the law of equal right. Public nuisances are public wrongs and must be abated.

The profession of law had its glorious Era, in the time of the Roman Empire. Then it was the profession of justice.

But justice has become a by-word, and one of reproach, in connection with the law of the Nineteenth Century.

The majority of our statute laws have been made *by* lawyers *for* lawyers. These laws are for the support of a nice lot of very well educated men, who try to make people believe that the community could not do without them. Boys, suppose you try to do without them.

Elect farmers, mechanics and business men to your legislatures; and abolish ninety-nine out of every hundred laws on the books. If, through that operation, the court-houses of the state should become deserted halls, you can use them in the day-time for schools of learning; and in the evening for debates on Political Economy.

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### ROADS.

Civilization requires easy means of communication between neighbors, cities and counties; both for the purpose of

commerce and social visiting. Therefore the common roads of a county should be many, and well conditioned.

The farmer must have a well graded and hard road on which to transport his produce to the village and rail-road. Money should not be spent in a niggardly manner for this purpose.

It will be far better for the prosperity of the people to be lavish in common-road appropriations, than in county buildings.

I wish you young men to ever bear in mind that the useful should come before the ornamental. While there is a certain pardonable vanity in displaying good architecture in the county court house and jail, yet you might well point to a fine system of county roads and bridges, with more enthusiasm.

The former are *blots* on our civilization, while the latter shine with the light of modern progress. I wish you to do your part, a willing part in human progress, which shall in the days of your grandchildren abolish both court house and jail, or at least keep the latter always without boarders.

Modern civilization demanded, and caused the

#### RAILROAD.

First came the bridle path in the forest, or the wagon track through the prairie grass; then the common road of the county; then the national road well rocked from Baltimore to the Mississippi River; and now comes the magnificent system of railroads; national in some respects, but in other respects above state law, or national, or force of public

opinion. A prominent railroad president said, "the public be damned!"

All roads in a state should be free to public use. That is the principle which should guide all legislation in regard to railroads.

The road-bed including rails should belong to the state, or to the United States. The use of this road-bed should be let to the highest bidders for a term of years, with a revaluation of rental every two, three or five years.

All railroad-beds should be declared "highways of commerce," and some of them "national highways"; and the latter be under federal supervision. The mode of using these highways may be subjects of practical legislation in detail.

Unless railroads are thus considered, they will become more and more tyranical monopolies, which the public must not suffer to exist.

#### TELEGRAPHS,

Telephones, and similar public conveniences across the open country, and having no exclusive franchises may very properly be private enterprises, but as they can only be built on the land, which land belongs to the people, they shall pay a fair rental for the same to the public purse.

The same institutions and corporations existing in the cities, and using the land of the cities, should be made to pay handsomely for the privileges, or otherwise they should be owned by the whole people of such city as they are worked in. The same may be said of city railroads.

In the city where I now write, half of the city ~~expense~~ could be paid with the net income of these ~~corporation~~

The tendency of all these corporations is to become rich, arrogant and law-defying. It is sad to acknowledge that some legislators can be bought by corporations, and thus the interests of the public betrayed and sacrificed.

For this reason there should be terms specified in the state constitution itself for the regulation of these monopolies. Otherwise the public must own or control them. There are strong reasons why the government should not operate the railroads of the country. First, the government should never meddle with business if it is possible to avoid it, as a principle. Second, there would be an immense army of employees under the control of the dominant party, which might be a constantly threatening danger to the freedom of elections. The federal patronage is already too large.

Aside from these objections to government operation of the railroads as a whole, would it not be all sufficient for the government to own the road-beds?

This being the case entire control of the roads could be had without the perplexities connected with ownership of "rolling stock," etc. All railroad tracks should be double; and then two or more transportation companies could use the same road, paying to the government a fair rental, either through a fixed sum of money, or otherwise a per cent. of the gross receipts of the roads.

You farmer's boys can think these plans out, as well as any one else. Try it. But it seems to me that the railroad business of this country could be carried on in a manner satisfactory to the people by ownership of the road-beds.

Perhaps another way will be adopted for the management

of all railroads, county roads, street railways, water works, gas works, or anything that requires a public franchise or that is in the nature of a monopoly.

That is: for the government to furnish all transportation, gas, water, etc., free of charge. All this could be carried on by the public on the same principle that the owner of an office building in any large city runs the elevators for the accomodation of his tenants and their customers; each tenant in the building pays a percentage of the cost of running the elevators, in the form of rent. The cost of running the elevators is added to the other expenses of the building and is charged to the tenants.

In the case of railroads, the land adjacent thereto would become more desirable, and therefore would command higher rent.

City lots also, that are supplied with water, gas, sewerage, and that are within easy reach of street railroads would bring higher rents because of those conveniences, and the cost of supplying them would come back to the community in the form of rent from those who used them.

All of this is now done, under the present condition of society with regard to a large part of those conveniences; with this difference, the rent is now paid to particular *individuals*, and not to the *public treasury*. If all of these services were performed free of charge, to-day, the rent of these lands would surely rise to the additional expenses. It matters not what the nature of the improvements are in any given locality, be it the erection of a number of fashionable residences, the building of a street railroad, paving the street,

or the grading of an alley where needed ; the value of all will be reflected in the *land-rent* and is to-day paid by the *users*, to the holders of the land title.

Thus we see that whatever expense may be caused for the needs of the people in any direction, it will go to increase the land values ; I think this is clear to anyone who will take the trouble to examine the case fairly ; therefore : *Justice requires the rental value of land to be taken for the use of the community.*

What we should do then is simply to extend this principle to its ultimate, and thus do away with all special privileges. And having removed the foundations from the monopolies, they would fall to pieces, and be extinct.

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## MONEY.

All civilized nations know what money is. But savage nations do not ; for money is a growth of civilization, the *seeds* of which is *direct barter*.

Barter is the direct exchange of one product for another product. When I lived among the Indians in 1839 they gave me Otter skins for powder. I took the skins to the trading post and exchanged them for powder, lead, tea and sugar.

In Massachusetts my ancestors traded with the Indians in 1628 and took "wampum" in exchange for English goods ; and then bought skins and venison of the Indians with the same wampum.

Wampum was round pieces worked out of sea shells, with much labor, and was used by natives and the early inhabitants for the purpose of money. There were holes in these discs, through which raw-hide strings were drawn; and thus strings of wampum were made of different sizes and value.

I say these strings were used for the purposes of money, but they were only merchandise, being a product of labor.

There was no law behind them to give them power to be received for payment of debts; the use of them by whites or Indians was optional.

Real money does *not* consist in its intrinsic, or merchandise value, but in its power, bestowed by a government, to pay all debts to that government, and to all the people living under that same government.

Those products of labor which were the most universally desired, would soon be used for the purposes of exchange, for the purpose of money.

After gold and silver were discovered, and valued for their beauty and rarity, they naturally became the universal medium of exchange by weight.

This so long continued, that the people believed only these metals could be used for money, until the time at last came when these metals were so insufficient in quantity that people were compelled to invent pure money; money made of paper with the stamp of the government compelling its reception for the payment of *all* merchandise and *all* debts.

#### GOLD AND SILVER AS MONEY.

The myths of the past are losing their places in the present. The idols of gold and silver which have enslaved na-

tions and individuals since the dawn of history cease to be respected or feared by students of Political Economy.

For thousands of years in all nations gold and silver have been the only gods crowned with the power of "money" Gold and silver as metals, have been precious in the eyes of all civilized nations, for their qualities of beauty and usefulness.

To these qualities are added smallness of bulk, and comparative freedom from destruction by the forces of nature. With these qualities to commend them, gold and silver were freely exchanged for any other product of labor.

And it must ever be kept in mind that these metals are nothing less, nothing more than the product of labor, and thus can never lose their characteristics of merchandise. All trade is an exchange of labor products, and nothing else in its last analysis. In all primitive communities gold and silver are sold by weight, or exchanged for other merchandise by weight.

When governments are established the ruling power creates money by law. Gold and silver are then melted, rolled, cut and stamped by the government. The pieces so cut and stamped are of different sizes, weights and fineness, or purity. They receive different names, and are declared by law to be of certain values. The gold and silver thus stamped are now "money." Before stamping, the pieces were only merchandise. The government "fiat" declaring such pieces "money" imparted to them a power which they did not before possess. Now they are a legal tender for all public and private debts.

It takes the power of a whole nation represented by its government to impart this power to any substance. In modern times we see this power imparted to not only gold and silver but to copper, brass and paper.

No individual can impart this power of sovereignty to even gold and silver, much less to paper. No nation can impart such quality to these substances which other nations will recognize.

Therefore one nation can never make its money a legal tender in any other country of the world, unless the latter is in slavery or subjection to the former.

Thus we see that the making of money is a government function. Goods purchased in a foreign country must always be paid for in the products of labor, and not in money.

Gold and silver money of the United States ceases to be money, when received in England for the payment of debts.

It is received by weight and fineness, according to the price of unstamped gold and silver. On the contrary, in the United States a silver dollar must be received in payment of goods just as readily as a piece of silver unstamped containing thirty-three per cent. more of metal equally pure.

In this country when gold coins are very little worn by use, they lose their power as money, and are received by banks, and even the United States government itself, only as merchandise, and not as money, for it is weighed, and the seller must take less than the money-value of it, if it has lost even a very little weight by circulating as money.

Two years ago, (1889) there were in the United States Treasury three hundred and two millions of gold, and three

hundred and four millions of silver coin, and for what use? None that I can see. In circulation there were of gold coins, two hundred and three millions; of silver coins ninety-four millions.

And even this circulation of coin was a forced one; for every post-office and every sub-treasury, and every government office paid out specie whenever they could induce people to take it; and the national banks did the same.

Truly, metallic currency is unpopular for everything above a Quarter of a dollar. And there is now a clamor for paper money of the value of twenty-five and fifty cents each.

Gold and silver money is an expensive one to the people; for they are at the expense of coinage, and also at the expense of loss by weight in the wear of circulation.

Two years ago the Missonri Pacific Railroad lost several hundred dollars on the weight of gold coins which had accumulated at their different stations. This very fact of accumulation shows the refusal of people to receive them from the officers of that corporation.

If small coins are worth having they can as well be made of nickel or aluminum as of silver.

The bank of England suspended specie payment from 1797 to 1821. For this period of twenty-four years, paper money paid all debts, public and private, and carried England through her wars with France and America.

The United States carried on an expensive war three years with paper money alone, and for a period of thirteen years had no other circulating medium; for gold and silver coins

of the United States had ceased to be money, and were sold as merchandise like wheat or coal.

That system of money should have continued, and then we would not have been burdened for so many years with a great war debt, demanding millions, yearly, from the industrious toilers of all classes of society. The wickedness of the scheme to overturn the best monetary system any nation ever had, has recently been made public.

In 1864, the per capita of currency in the United States was fifty-seven dollars, including bonds held by the people. The contraction of the currency to the present per capita of about twenty dollars, has robbed labor of untold millions, the possessors of which now form a dangerous class which makes and unmakes laws to suit its own convenience for the despoilation of the American people. They defy laws whenever it suits them, and they are the only practical and dangerous anarchists of the American Republic.

The Bank of France has a paper currency of eighteen dollars to one of gold. It is a stockholders' bank, but the servant of the government. This bank pays out no gold except on her own terms. When gold coin is in greater demand than usual she buys and sells at a higher price than her own notes, and thus prevents a panic.

In the London scare of November '90 the Bank of France sent and loaned to the Bank of England many millions of dollars in gold in order to help the "Baring Bros."

The Republic of France has a currency volume of fifty-seven dollars per inhabitant, including bonds, and her great bank has ninety-six branches in her own cities; thus facilita-

ting exchange to the highest degree. The small number of tramps and the small number of great millionaires testify much in favor of the French monetary system.

If the paper money of France was not exchangeable for gold and silver by law then that country could never have a panic from the exportation of metals. So with England. So with the United States.

Gold and silver money is not only comparatively useless, because unnecessary, but it is positively dangerous to the security of trade.

Whenever these gold coins are exported from any country in considerable quantities, trade is frightened, and either tries to secure itself, or rushes to support the tottering financial structure so insecurely founded.

Houses built on good foundations usually require no prop in a storm. How absurd to erect a house that requires all the neighbors' help in a storm to keep it erect.

See the fright of not only England, but of France and the United States when it was known that the Bank of England had only about one million of gold in its vaults, at the time that the house of "Baring Bros." tottered, a few months ago. Then the Bank of France advanced the price of gold, a fact which calls it into her treasuries, and she ships carloads of it to England's Bank, in order to keep it from suspending specie payment.

If the Bank of England had suspended, great fortunes would have been lost in France and the United States. But the cost of money gambling will yet come, before 1892, unless some legislation is done to prevent it; it is postponed

only for a few months. The present monetary system is rotten. All the gold and silver reserve of all the banks in the world in the year 1880 was only one thousand five hundred and eighty-five millions of dollars ; only as much as the money in circulation in the United States.

All the gold and silver money in the world in 1880 was only equal to the needs of one country like France if no paper money should be used.

The world's gold coin in 1880 was two thousand three hundred millions. Its silver money one thousand one hundred millions.

Gold and silver are useful metals in the luxurious arts, and the quantity is now rapidly diminishing from increased consumption and diminished production. Even the insignificant matter of filling decayed teeth with gold, requires two millions yearly for the United States alone.

The present monetary system of this country is like a pyramid standing on its apex. The base of this pyramid should be the whole wealth of the nation ; or about sixty-five thousand millions of dollars ; and not the smaller sum of six hundred millions of that same wealth, named gold and silver.

For, as I have already said : Money is nothing more, and nothing less than a perfect medium of exchange. It is the means by which you may easily exchange one product of labor for another product of labor.

Money was born by the necessities of a community. It came into existence from necessity. It was an invention. It

was a thought given to people who wished to trade with each other.

The use of money in trade is indirect barter. Direct barter is like this: Dick Oglesby takes ten bushels of potatoes in his wagon, and goes over to Jim Hemingway's farm and gets Jim to take the potatoes in exchange for two bushels of wheat.

#### PRACTICAL MONEY.

The story of Pitcairn Island you have long known. The crew of the ship Bounty mutinied and sailed into a harbor of Tahiti one hundred years ago. There they took native men and women with them and sailed until they came to an uninhabited island having about two square miles of land. They broke up the ship and used the material on the land. There they lived and multiplied and were ruled by the head mutineer. It was very many years before they were discovered, and at the time had increased to a population of about one hundred. Their laws were simple and patterned after those of Great Britain from which the ship Bounty had sailed.

These Islanders had no gold, silver or other metallic money. But they had a monetary system simple and perfect for their needs. The volume was that of fifty shillings for every man, woman and child. The pieces in value from one penny to two shillings. For many years they traded among themselves by exchanging products directly with each other, but when their numbers had increased to one hundred they created a monetary system.

Having no paper they used the parchment made for their records, produced from the thin skins of animals and fishes. They cut oblong pieces on which were written something like this :

“One Penny! This will pay all debts forever on this Island, and shall be used for buying and selling as good as gold. John Adams, Ruler. H. Smith, Secretary.

“One Shilling! This will pay all debts, in buying and selling on this Island forever. John Adams, Ruler. H. Smith, Secretary.”

This money did not wear or tear easily, but whenever it did it was exchanged for a new note, and the old one burned by “Ruler.”

Has there ever been a better monetary system than this? Is there any better example of what money really is than that of Pitcairn Island?

Boys, write to your Congressmen and tell them to abolish gold and silver as money, and give us paper money.

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#### BANKS.

Banks are very old commercial institutions. Six hundred years before the Christian Era they were in operation in the great city of Babylon, the evidences of which are seen to-day in the British Museum.

Until recent times, banks were only *private* institutions-for the deposit of money, and for the loaning of money. The

money that they loaned was that made and issued by a State, Kingdom, or Government.

Banks have sometimes been allowed by the State to make and issue engraved notes called bank bills. These bills were "promises to pay" the bearer certain sums of gold or silver money, in the "coin of the realm" or government money. There can be no absolute money except that made or authorized by the State.

The making of money is a governmental function, and should never be delegated to any person. No money is perfect or anywhere near perfect that will not pay all indebtedness, public and private, in the country where it is issued.

The money of one country will not pay such indebtedness in any other country; for no country can make the laws of another state, unless the latter is in subjection to the former, and in that case it has lost its sovereignty.

The money of England is not a legal tender in the United States, neither is the money of the United States a legal tender in England or any other country. Nothing is money that is not a legal tender.

No person in this country can pay his debt, or buy goods in England with United States money, whether it is paper, or gold and silver. American eagles and silver dollars are *sold* in England, or any other country for just what the gold and silver may be worth, according to its fineness and weight.

Nothing but the product of labor, or merchandise will pay for the merchandise of another country. Trade is always barter, or exchange of wealth, in its last explanation.

Money, then, is a medium of exchange to facilitate the buying and selling of wealth, and to adjust balances of trade.

The prosperity of a nation depends mainly on three functions of government. The police power which should be wielded *solely* to protect the lives and property of persons from physical violence. The taxing power, which should be used only so far as *absolute necessity* requires. The money making power, which should only be used to supply trade with a volume of currency, steady in value and per capita.

Great injustice may be done to persons and corporations, either by suddenly contracting or inflating the volume of currency.

Speculation and mercantile gambling is stimulated, by diminishing or expanding the quantity of circulating medium. Panics and disastrous commercial and industrial convulsions follow sudden, or even gradual contraction of the volume of moncy.

The great gambling Era of 1833-34-35 was caused by President Jackson's removal of the government-cash from Biddle's Bank of Philadelphia, to various private banks chartered by the states of the Union.

State-banks got the use of those millions without interest, and freely loaned it to individuals at six and seven per cent. People took the money *eagerly*, and *gambled* with it, as they now do, in land, wheat, hogs, cotton and whale oil.

In 1837 the bubbles had got as thin as they could well be without bursting; then one after another collapsed, and it seemed as though the country was ruined.

The country was *not* ruined; there was not a dollars worth

*Less* of real wealth in 1837 than there was in 1836. Balances or debts had to be settled, and so a Bankrupt Law was passed. The people had learned one lesson only to forget it, and things went on as before, until the crash of '57 came.

The bank of which I have just spoken, as being Biddle's Bank, was called the United States Bank ; and though not a government institution, it had always been more or less the servant of the government ; but having become a pet of the administrations until the election of Andrew Jackson, prosperity had spoiled it, and it had become the dictator of elections ; and for that reason Jackson cut its head off by removing the cash of the United States from its vaults.

The state banks which then became depositories of the government received from the public the name of "Pet Banks."

One hundred years ago the Bank of England suspended specie payment. It was, and now is a stockholders bank, and not a government institution, but has always been a servant of the monarchy. For twenty five years this bank paid out no specie, and the government declared the notes of the bank a legal tender for all debts.

The bank took advantage of circumstances and issued such a volume of notes that the currency was inflated to a degree that prices of all kinds of merchandise, including gold, rose in price.

The mistake lay with the government, that it did not *limit* the amount of circulating notes to a steady per capita. But England carried on her wars with paper money.

Before the union of States, many of them had issued bills

of credit or paper money, which would have been of great value if the volume had been limited to the actual expenses of the government, and made continually receivable for all taxes, as well as a legal tender for private debts.

The great dividends paid to the stockholders of the United States Bank, up to Jackson's administration, encouraged private banking in the States, which latter, granted charters to individuals, not only to loan United States money, but to make and issue bank notes of their own, to an amount about double that of their gold and silver reserve capital.

But the banks did about as they pleased, and loaned not only their own notes, but their gold and silver coin and much of their deposits.

This reckless banking resulted seriously to industry and led to the suppression of banks by law.

#### NATIONAL BANKS.

The rise of national banks was the result of the necessities of the United States government, and the ignorance of the people.

Plutocrats and robbers who have always lived by the labor of other people, took advantage of necessity and ignorance, and influenced the administration to organize *those great robbers of industry*: national banks.

The war of slave emancipation in 1861 caused an unusual demand for money with which to prosecute the campaign. The administration and congress issued interest-bearing bonds for this purpose, and sold them less than par.

It should have issued enough paper money, a legal tender

for all debts public and private, not redeemable in anything, but forever good for those purposes, and these notes should have been without interest.

Without interest-bearing bonds, national banks need not have been ; and more than two thousand millions of dollars, or days labor would have been saved to the real producers of wealth ; the farmers, mechanics, and other workers.

So the establishment of national banks was only another story about thieves.

The government issued interest-bearing bonds. Then it issued one hundred and fifty millions of green-backs ; legal tender. Then it chartered national banks.

Men took green-backs not bearing interest and exchanged them for other notes called bonds, bearing interest.

Then they took bonds to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars and went to Washington, left their bonds for safe keeping, and took home ninety thousand dollars in national bank notes. With these notes they set up a bank ; vault, plate glass windows, mahogany counters, richly carpeted cashier's and directors' rooms.

From Washington they received their four per cent. semi-annual interest on their one hundred thousand dollar bonds. On their ninety thousand dollars of national bank notes which the government kindly loaned them without interest, they got seven, eight, and ten per cent. from their borrowers. From deposits more yet.

National banks are vampires, sucking and living on the blood of labor.

Banks ! They are natural mercantile institutions, under our

present state of semi-civilization. But our government should let them severely alone, as they should all other mercantile things, as long as they behave half decently.

Let banks get their gold, silver and paper money according to the laws of free competition in trade.

The United States should make and issue yearly enough paper money to pay all its national expenses until the per capita would be equal to fifty dollars.

When the people of the United States have in circulation their own money to the amount of fifty dollars per capita, then it may directly assess the States for their fair proportion of national expenses.

Since the fifty-first Congress passed laws for the further plunder of the people, by its extra favors to the national banks, there has been and is now a marvelous increase in their numbers. All over the country national banks are springing up like mushrooms. They live in a hot bed of favoritism.

The earnings of national banks for 1889 were twelve per cent on their capital. Under the increased patronage of government this will now be very much larger, say about fifteen per cent. Young Mr. Farmer, how does that suit you.

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#### SAFE DEPOSITS OF THE PEOPLE.

The post-offices now sell money orders. Let them also receive small deposits for safe keeping.

The sub-treasuries should be increased in numbers so that

every considerable city may be accommodated. These sub-treasuries should receive deposits for all larger sums than post-offices would take; and sell drafts on every other sub-treasury.

Of course the government should pay no interest, neither should it charge for safe-keeping.

This is a function that the government can perform for the benefit of trade, and therefore for all the people, safer and better than it can be done by private enterprise.

No restriction, however, should be made to private enterprise, for doing this same business. Experience teaches that banks are not safe, and experience teaches that the United States government will pay its debts.

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#### UNITED STATES BONDS.

These bonds are promises to pay. They are printed notes of the United States, agreeing to pay certain sums of money at specified times, with interest.

The United States makes its own money and can make as much as the people demand. Why should the Government borrow money when it can make all it needs? Why have the plutocrats, the money kings, the financiers fooled the people into the belief that it is the proper thing to do? And why do they assent to this robbery of industry.

The idea of borrowing your own money and then paying interest on it! The idea of paying a man for the use of your

own horse ! The idea of paying your neighbor for the use of your own wheat, which you raised on your own farm, with your own seed, and by your own labor.

The people have worked hard to earn the wealth with which they have paid thousands of millions of dollars for these bonds ! And for what ? For nothing ! The more they pay the more they enslave themselves.

The creation of bonds was an abominable trick of the money power ! Why did not the country pay off its debts in its own money, directly, and not through the "hocus pocus" of bonds ?

The cost of the war has been paid over and over again to the money robbers and the mill robbers. But it is not too late now to do something sensible. The bonds bearing interest amount to over \$800,000,000. Last year they robbed industry of \$32,000,000 by interest. Why not stop this ? A single act of Congress could do it. One patriotic day's work could do it.

The sooner the people demand it the sooner will it be done. The people must speak in thunder tones or it will never be done. Issue enough legal tender notes to purchase the whole public indebtedness. Do you think there would be too much currency ? I am sure there would be not one dollar more than the business of the country needs to-day. It would be no more than \$31 per capita.

It would be better for sixty-five millions of industrious people if we had \$50 per capita.

We can get \$50 per capita after a while if we pay off our

pensions with legal tenders. No country should have a fluctuating currency, but that is what we have.

As long as gold and silver form a part of our monetary system it must be fluctuating in volume and in value. The people of the United States have never grown out of the babyhood of economic science.

When gold and silver cease to be anything but merchandise to the American people, then can we have the best currency in the world.

#### OTHER BONDS.

There will be no need of bonds when the land-question is settled on the single-tax basis.

There will always be an abundance of cash in the state, county, and city treasuries to pay all expenses, without ever borrowing money.

All of this bond business is a wicked scheme of money-lenders and speculators, to enrich themselves by financial methods, which are sure to rob the producers of wealth.

There are only three classes in the community, namely: Producers, Beggars, Robbers.

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#### INTEREST.

Interest is the price paid for the use of capital. The source of interest is poverty. When capital becomes more plentiful, and poverty decreases in proportion, interest will be no more.

Capital is that portion of wealth not required for consumption and therefore devoted to assist in the production of more wealth.

Wealth is the product of labor and land, or labor applied to the products of land. There can be no wealth except it is produced by labor applied to natural-opportunities.

I have already said that natural-opportunities are land, water, sunshine and air. Land includes that used for farming, mining, railroading, telephoning, city and other building lots, etc.

Iron, coal, lead, silver, wheat, potatoes, houses, clothing, etc., are wealth. But money is not wealth; it is merely a medium whereby we can more easily exchange one kind of wealth for another kind of wealth.

A silver dollar is both wealth and money.

A paper dollar is pure money.

Where capital is scarce, proportioned to population and natural-opportunities, interest is high.

Where capital is abundant proportioned to population and monopolized natural-opportunities, interest is low.

At present the first is seen in new countries, and the second illustration is found in older communities.

The price of wealth depends upon its relative abundance. When wheat is cheap—relatively abundant—it takes more bushels of it to purchase other desired things. It is cheaper. When money is relatively abundant it takes more of it to get the things we wish. It is cheaper.

The wealth producing power of the United States is

enormous, now, and is rapidly increasing as machinery is improved.

Extravagant living uses up enormous quantities of wealth, but besides this there is a great and growing surplus which becomes capital and is offered for use at such prices as monopoly and competition can agree upon as a tax on the industry of the country.

Interest has existed since written history, in all nations. But universal custom is not universal justice.

Pure interest excludes risk. So what is called interest has mixed with it risk, to a great extent. The more risky the security of a loan the higher the rate; for this rate includes risk.

Capital of all kinds is often loaned without the intervention of money.

If I hire a flouring mill at a yearly rental of \$10,000, I pay for "wear and tear," for fire insurance, for risk against the powers of nature, and for security risk, besides pure interest on the selling value of the mill. Perhaps I pay all this to the owner in barrels of flour—or pure wealth.

So we see that interest may be paid for the use of capital without the employment of money.

When we hire pure money we hire wealth, as represented by money.

In an office near where I am writing, loans are made on furniture and household goods at rates varying from twenty-five to one hundred per cent., according to risk, though the city of St. Louis can borrow money on ten years credit for three per cent.

The United States can borrow money at two per cent., for risk or insurance is taken out.

If the wealth of the world accumulates as rapidly for the next thirty years as it has for the last thirty, pure interest will be nothing, in wealth centers, where capital mostly seeks employment or security.

Wealth must, in the near future, pay for its own security, instead of taking interest.

There are "safe deposit" companies in nearly all large cities now, where wealth must pay for its security.

Interest is a tax on labor. It is, too often, a robber of labor.

The industry of this country is terribly discouraged by the tax which capital demands of it.

Witness the poverty of mill workers in the East, and of land-cultivators in the West.

Capital demands of the farmer of the West no less a sum than \$250,000,000 yearly, for the use of the money loaned to them.

The farmers will never pay it, because it is impossible for them to earn that much, above a miserable living.

Why should farmers pay interest when national banks pay nothing?

What language is strong enough to depict the rascality, robbery, injustice that allows national banks to receive, without interest, from the United States government, millions upon millions of money, to keep as long as they please, and loan it out to the people at eight, ten and twelve per cent. interest!

But what fools we farmers are to allow this to continue.  
We have votes! Let us use them.

If we had more money? What then?

To-day there are about \$1,500,000,000 in circulation.  
Suppose interest averages six per cent. now; if, to-morrow,  
there could be double that amount of money in circulation,  
would interest be at a lower rate? Yes, nominally it might,  
and average three per cent. But it would take double the  
number of dollars to do business, and so the use of money  
would be the same in fact.

If we should double the number of dollars to-morrow, the  
farmer could pay off his indebtedness with about half the  
number of bushels of wheat that it now takes. It would  
improve the condition of the farmer who is in debt; but it  
would not help the farmer who is free from debt, because  
with cheaper money all forms of wealth would be relatively  
dearer: cloth as well as wheat: sugar as well as oats: lum-  
ber as well as wool.

The farmer has just as much right to go to Washington  
and demand money free of interest as the national banks  
have. But no one has that right; for it is purely class legis-  
lation.

There are three great robbers of industry, namely: land-  
monopoly, the custom house, interest.

Now Dick Oglesby, I want to talk to you. Suppose Jim  
Hemingway wanted to borrow ten bushels of wheat of you  
until threshing time; would you think of asking interest for  
the loan of it? Would you be willing to receive in return  
more than ten bushels?

Or suppose you should lend him ten silver dollars for six months, and he returns you ten silver dollars. Have you not received all of your wealth again, without "wear and tear?"

Wealth, or money can't earn anything. It can produce nothing. Wealth, or money can command something. It can demand something. So can a robber's pistol.

There should be no laws for, or against interest. Money must now be bought and sold, subject to a profit by the holder. But when production becomes free, interest will fall to zero, according to the laws of free-trade. For poverty will then be nearly abolished, and with the decrease of poverty, interest will at last cease.

Professional money lenders fear legal-tenders as the devil fears holy water. What the money lenders desire is *scarce* money, imperfect money, all sorts of money in the nation's trade. With uncertainty, with fluctuations they can manipulate the currency, and rob the people; rob industry.

The people and industry mean the same thing, for the great mass of the people are the only creators of wealth; are workers.

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#### DEBT—CREDIT.

I believe that people should pay their debts; honest debts I mean, for there are no debts but honest ones. Anything called an obligation that is not honest, that is not just, is not a debt.

A debt is something *due* from one person to another, and

if anything claimed by one person from another is not honest or just, it is not due, and is therefore not a debt.

I believe in a law of public opinion which should be so strong as to compel persons to pay their debts, if possible.

And I would have the public sentiment so strong against dishonesty of that sort, that the debtor who could, but would not pay his debts might be shut out of decent society by public opinion.

There would be fewer failures in business if trade and production were free. The majority of failures are caused by favors granted by law to one class of persons, to the manifest injury of other classes.

In unenlightened nations debts have been considered so inviolable that if payment could not be made, the debtor was taken for a slave, to work out the debt, and even the debtor's wife and children shared the same fate, and in default of other payment the life of the debtor was forfeited, and held for ransom by the debtor's relations.

Such laws are cruel, and unjust in themselves and the execution of them a worse crime than the one I condemn. But the crime against property may be a crime against a person; and certainly it is if the owner of the property put the energies of his own life into the honest labor of acquiring that property.

Immediately after the war of independence the people of the United States were so much in debt, and at the same time groaning under a depreciated currency that Congress passed the first bankrupt law. As soon as that law had accomplished its immediate work, the people who had been so

much relieved, clamored for its repeal; which was done in 1803.

An Era of prosperity soon commenced both agricultural and commercial, which continued until the great crash of 1836. This financial disaster was so far-reaching, that relief was again demanded of Congress; therefore, the second bankrupt law passed in 1841; and so quickly and thoroughly was it taken advantage of, that the gates of freedom were once more shut, and not until the year 1867 were they opened.

The thousands of poor debtors who had gone-under in the years 1857, '58, '59 and '60, now got out of their legal entanglements, and were ready to commence business life once more. Grown wiser by the past, the gates of liberty were kept open until 1878, when the law was again repealed.

The laws of benevolence are of tardy unfoldment, and notwithstanding the Christian church had ruled England for hundreds of years, yet thousands of persons were constantly in the jails of England for debt, no longer than thirty years ago; and only ten years since there were over eight thousand men in English prisons on account of civil obligations, or debts, and not for criminal offences.

Just as long as we have laws for the forcible collection of debts, just so long will the rich class hold out baits for the poor class to go beyond their means, both in living, and in business.

The moneyed-people are continually getting up schemes to entice poor people into them, holding out hopes of immense gains by small investments, and thus entangling the

**Poor** in meshes purposely intended to cheat them out of their **small investments.**

Of course this will continue while the poor are denied the **natural opportunities** by which they could, by honest labor, **obtain** all the comforts of life, without resorting to immoral **means** to do so.

Many of the building associations are gotten up for the **very purpose** of fishing. The originators of them know that **enough wage workers** and salary men will necessarily fail to **pay** their assessments, owing to loss of work, sickness, etc., **by which** the originators and schemers will enrich themselves **on the forfeitures and fines** of the poor dupes. That sort of thing is devil's fishing.

The same may truly be said of various irresponsible traps called some kind of "Order."

Young men whenever you are promised one hundred dollars at the end of one year, by paying into a "concern" forty dollars, you may be sure that somebody is going to be robbed. All wealth is the result of some persons labor.

The credit system is a tax upon honest industry. All business houses must charge the supposed bad debts of the year to the price of their goods. Business would be on a better foundation, and its operations cleaner and more satisfactory under a free system of trade.

With the abolition of collection-laws, men would buy and sell upon honor, more than they now do. The great expense of courts, lawyers and other legal machinery would be saved to the people.

*I never tried to collect a debt owing to me, by law. I am*

not willing to pay for the collection of other peoples debts !  
Why should I be compelled to ?

Many private banks have failed in the last few months. Newspapers are urging the enactment of state laws compelling banks to give bonds to the State for the safety of depositors. The idea is just as absurd as it would be to compel *all* persons to give bonds to the State that they would pay their creditors without fail.

No, if private bankers wish to obtain the cash of people by which to make a living, or a fortune, let them voluntarily give bonds.

If the people who have money to deposit, and who have drafts to purchase could have the privilege of doing that at the sub-treasuries and post-offices, absolute safety would be secured.

I believe that all balances in trade would be as promptly made under free conditions, as they now are, without the costs and perplexities of courts.

The abolition of all laws for the collection of debts, must soon follow the laws, which have been abolished, of imprisonment for debt.

The grand march of ethics is on, and will never cease until all mankind are united in a universal brotherhood.

When statute laws are abolished for the collection of debts, traders and others will recognize only the *law of custom*, and the law of custom will be : "*Every man must pay his honest debts, if possible.*"

Laws of custom are always more liberal, more just and more effective than statute laws ; and undergo evolution in

ethics, as rapidly as true education can find response in the hearts and minds of the people.

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### PATENTS.

The patent office ought to be abolished. It is a promoter and sustainer of thousands of monopolies. Let us examine the subject.

How is it that thought is so common? If one man suppresses his invention, it is only a little while before the same or a better invention is proclaimed by another person. When the time is ripe for a new discovery, it comes and would come at last in spite of its suppression by thousands of individuals. People invent because they can't help it. The thought comes to them and it recurs so persistently that it must be noticed.

An invention is the thought of the nation or of the world, and it is as material as the germs that fly in the air. Inventors are always annoyed by other claimants to the same discovery.

Authors are constantly being accused of stealing thoughts and language from others. The thoughts of the universe can no more be an individual ownership than the air and sunlight.

Thoughts are not made, they are eternal, and they voluntarily come to you and to me as birds come to a tree. Thoughts knock at the brains of thousands of people again

and again before they get in. Some brains never let them in.

Patents are monopolies, granted by governments to persons claiming to be inventors. This is a violation of equal rights, if what I have said about freedom of thought is true. Patents encourage useless inventions. Not one in a hundred is useful. Patents shut the door on other inventors. Patents cause great expense to the public by: waste of time, litigations, public buildings, armies of clerks, corruption of judges, ect.

Patents enable owners to shut off the best things for the public, and force on it inferior things, because more profitable to the owners of the monopoly. A person can hardly make anything new to sell until he finds out whether it has been patented. The United States grant about fifteen thousand of those monopolies yearly.

Very few inventors profit by their patents. They are soon sold to some one who gets all the plunder from the public. How much better to have a commissioner that should examine inventions and if worthy recommend to the Government the giving of a sum of money to the inventor and to no one else.

What I have said about patents applies equally to copyright with even more force. Everyone acquainted with ancient and modern literature must be impressed with the similarity of thought among all people and in all ages of the world.

All writers of books and magazine articles should be ashamed to copyright them, for as they have freely received so should they freely give. For what they receive and what they give belongs to no man, but to universal thought.

No class of people in the United States have suffered so much as farmers by the patent laws. Invention has created, or introduced large numbers of labor-saving agricultural implements. These implements are useful. They have multiplied the power of farm labor many times.

This improved farm machinery has enabled large land-holders to procure crops at a lower cost than formerly. Much capital has been employed in this.

The result has been an injury to the small farmer, for in order to compete at all with the big farmer he has been compelled to purchase the labor-saving machines.

The small farmer has also been compelled to pay an extortionate price for his machines. He paid a higher price than the big farmer; for the *richer* a man is, the *cheaper* he can buy tools.

Both the big farmers and the small farmers pay more for this machinery than the farmers of *other* countries, for the same machines made in the United States.

The machine manufacturers sell their machines cheaper abroad than they do at home, for they are compelled by competition abroad to do that. But the tariff keeps those foreign machines out of this country, and thus there is no competition for the manufacturers in the United States.

The farm-machinery manufacturers of this country form a trust whereby they prevent competition with each other and thus keep up prices.

Boys you can see that these manufacturers are robbing you, for if they sell their machines abroad at a profit, it is

evident that they are making you pay too much for the ~~ma~~ chines that you use.

If there had been no patent laws, these machines would still have been invented, and there would have been no monopoly either in their manufacture or sale. This patent monopoly being sustained by law, robs not only you but *all* industry.

Inventions of remarkable usefulness should be remunerated by the nation. It always has been the case, and is now: that *speculators* get hold of inventions *early*, and "buy them for a song," and thus rob not only the inventor, but the nation.

With no patent laws all these bad practices would cease. As a rule laws create more bad practices than they cure.

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#### POLITICAL PARTIES.

There have always been, at least two political parties in the United States, and no doubt will be for a long time to come. It makes little difference what the names of these parties are, for they are generally misleading.

To-day, the Republican party is an aristocratic party, both in its doings and its teachings.

To-day, the Democratic party is democratic only in name.

The Outs want to get into power. The Ins want to hold on to power.

Either party will sacrifice principles of justice in order to

accomplish these ends. Both parties are controlled by office-holders and office-seekers.

What can you young men *do* then? You can teach all parties the principles of right legislation. You can hold yourselves above, and out of parties. You can vote with one, or the other party, as wisdom may dictate. Take half a loaf when you can't get a whole one, but never accept even half of a stolen loaf.

In other words, never violate the law of right in order to get a half loaf, or a whole loaf. For instance, don't vote for the government to buy silver, or wheat, or iron, or coal in order to get a greater volume of currency; for that is paternalism.

All paternalism is a violation of rights.

And don't ask the government to advance or loan you money on your crops, or on your land.

All legislation of this kind is unjust. Spurn the herd of hungry beggars that continually besiege the doors of congress. Government has nothing to do with charity, but it has everything to do with justice.

The leaders of political parties are ever trying to buy votes of classes by granting favors to those classes. A favor to one class, is, and must be, a robbery of other classes.

The Party in power coerces, to a great extent, those *holding office* under the government, into voting the ticket that will insure a continuance of that party in power.

The best way to prevent the corruptive influence of this immense army of office-holders, is to deprive them of "the vote" while holding office.

This dangerous army of partisans grows continually larger as new functions are added to the governments. And new functions are likely to be given to the government for the better carrying on of society-business that cannot be well kept out of private monopolies.

But the abolition of all restrictive legislation would do away with more public offices than the exercise of those new functions of government would create.

Persons who decline to give up their votes may properly decline office.

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### RICHES.

Riches are good things. Riches are wealth. Wealth is a good thing, for it is the product of labor, and necessary to existence. People who preach against riches, are ignorant or foolish, perhaps both. Houses, horses, cattle, clothes, food, orchards, barns, reapers, mowers, are riches.

People need these things. People who have all these things in plenty are more comfortable and happier, and more moral than those persons who live in huts and rags.

People who live well and dress well have *respect* for themselves. Society is better every way for having abundance of wealth.

But society is not better for having nearly all the wealth in possession of a *few* persons, instead of being owned by *all* people. If one-tenth of the people have nine-tenths of

society wealth, it's a bad thing, not only for the nine-tenths, but for the one-tenth who have all the wealth.

A few persons cannot have nine-tenths of the wealth of a country without becoming selfish, arrogant and unsympathetic with industry.

Plutocrats *know* that they are robbers of wealth. They know that they never produced that wealth. They know that they have an unjust proportion of wealth, and it makes them *hate* those whom they have robbed.

The utterances of these plutocrats in regard to the *producers* of wealth, show their contempt for them.

How shall the people treat plutocracy? By taxing their wealth away from them? It is unpopular to say, "No!," but *I* say "No!" Let them alone! Abolish all special privileges. Abolish all monopolies. These plutocrats retain their ill-gotten-gains by monopoly-laws.

The plutocrats got rich by monopoly-laws. Why did legislatures pass those laws? Because the people carelessly elected fools and robbers to the legislatures.

The people have only themselves to blame. They were lazy and did not vote, or they were ignorant, and were cheated by political tricksters.

Boys, I hope you will attend to political business better than your fathers have. Politics are as much your business as farming is, and you must attend to it, or there will always be a larger crop of weeds than corn. *Good* government is what is most needed in county, state and nation.

The *fewer* laws, the *better* government. Very few laws are needed for right, for just government.

Few laws mean free-government.

Many laws mean restrictive-government.

Restrictive-laws are all in favor of monopolies.

Restrictive-legislation is bad, all along the line. It is ~~bad~~ from bottom to top ; and from side to side. Laws ~~against~~ monopolies are as bad as any. The end sought will ~~not~~ justify the means.

Prohibition of anything by law has the bad odor of violence, of egotism, of bigotry. It is a denial of the law of equal right.

Boys, the preservation of the liberties of the American people depends on the devotion of the people to the *law of equal right*. I want that law to find a home in your heads and hearts, and forever remain there as the light of your lives. Therefore abolish all laws that sustain monopoly.

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## POVERTY.

Poverty, Want, Destitution ! Is it not dreadful ? How common it is. Are not the daily papers filled with descriptions of it ?

Why did God make this beautiful earth and place mankind upon it to starve ?

But did he ? Did he ? No ! It's a lie !

The earth is rich, rich to overflowing with every good thing of life, which she offers to labor free.

Behold the treasures of gold, silver, iron, coal, oil and

countless thousands of good things which mankind desires. Forests teeming with strong and beautiful woods, for ships, houses and furniture. The rich soils of valleys and hills, ready to transmute the crude substances of lower life into a higher organization, to nourish man's body as well as animal life.

Nature offers the breast of mother earth for the nourishment of all mankind, on equal terms.

Those terms are good; they are healthy; they are for the highest enjoyment of both body and soul.

Labor? Labor is the key that unlocks the storehouse where nature's riches are. There is no other way to receive these gifts of nature except by labor applied to natural opportunities.

For thousands of years labor has been applied, day after day, month after month, year after year; yes from morning until night; in storms, in heat and in cold.

And now behold the results. Behold the wealth that labor has produced: Magnificent palaces, houses and temples, ships, railroads, carriages, gardens, farms, orchards; storehouses filled with comfortable and elegant clothing for men, women and children; warehouses, filled with useful and elegant furniture for the domestic home and for the merchant's counting room.

Wealth, wealth, wealth. Yes, when counted by dollars, the wealth of the United States is the enormous sum of \$65,000,000,000, which is equal to \$1,000 worth for every man, woman and child in this country.

Is not that glorious? Is not nature good? Five thousand

dollars worth of good things for any family, of five persons. That may be represented by a good, handsome, roomy house, with all necessary and luxurious furniture; a barn, horse and buggy, and cow; garden and pantries full of good healthy food for to-day and to-morrow, and for thirty days more.

Surely there can be no *poverty* in this country! Is he a liar who says, there is? Does the foregoing look like poverty.

But what is this? And this? (I cut these slips out of newspapers.)

"An unfortunate woman whose husband is out of work and who endured with him the horrors of starvation took the last possible plunge in the social drama and went upon the street. Having been arrested by a very acute policeman, she confessed in a quiet and most effective manner to the judge that she was wrong and gave her history, whereupon the court said to this woman without a home, without a cent, without a bite: 'Well, you have confessed your sin and there is nothing left for me to do but punish you. I'll fine you \$5.'" That judge committed a crime in condemning that woman.

Here is another case:

"Several persons in State street saw a young man deliberately throw himself in front of the wheel of a heavily loaded truck at 10:30 a. m. last Friday. They shouted to Patrick Burns, who was driving the truck, and Burns reined in his team as quickly as possible, but not in time to prevent the wheel from passing over the young man's body. There were thirty-three barrels of flour on the truck. Policeman Kennedy of the First precinct was among the men who witnessed the attempt at suicide and he helped to raise the young man from the pavement. 'I did not jump into the

water, because somebody would have pulled me out,' the young man said. 'I wanted to die.' He said that his name was James Casey and that he lived at No. 212 East Eighty-first street. An ambulance took him to the hospital in Chambers street. The surgeons found that his thigh was fractured and that he had received dangerous internal injuries. He became insensible at the hospital and died before evening. Casey was unmarried and lived with his widowed mother and younger brother in Eighty-first street. Lately he became despondent on account of loss of work."

But do we need to read of these conditions in newspapers? Cannot we find their representatives in plenty of our public streets? O yes, it's only just around the corner that we can verify their truth.

Why is this? Have a few got most of the wealth, and the "many" almost none? Yes, it is true. For it is known that four per cent. of the population own as much of the wealth as does the other ninety-six per cent.

Twenty-five thousand persons have more of the wealth of the United States than have the other sixty-four millions of people. Out of these sixty-four millions of people probably there are fifty millions in poverty; millions of them destitute.

Not less than one million have no place to sleep, except in the fields, the highways, beside a straw stack or in an enemy's barn.

Have these people been robbed? Yes, they have. Who are the robbers? The twenty-five thousand who have the millions of wealth. They are the robbers and receivers of stolen property. Do they know that they are robbers? Not all of them do; many do and glory in their shame.

Are these rich people alone guilty? No, they are not ~~not~~  
Every person, rich or poor, who knows how to promote ~~not~~  
justice in the proper distribution of wealth, and does not ~~do~~  
all he can to remedy the evils I speak of, is truly guilty.

These unjust conditions are destroying society. They are ~~not~~  
destroying the republican government that our fathers framed ~~not~~  
for us. We are drifting towards bloody anarchy. Unless  
we stop and retrace our steps we will soon be engaged in a  
civil war more terrible than this country has ever seen. It  
will not be a war of sections, or one portion of our country  
against another portion, but it will be a war of "classes;" a  
war which will wet the streets of every city with the blood of  
its own inhabitants. Maddened with impatience and despair,  
poverty will set the incendiary's torch to hut, mansion and  
palace.

Don't cry out to me, "Peace, peace!" I tell you there is  
now no peace; and there never will be, and ought not to be,  
until robbery of labor ceases and justice is done to all men.

Young men, come up and help us! Come and learn to  
help yourselves. The little band of men who long ago saw  
the truth, have been trying to educate the public. They  
have distributed millions of tracts. They have written  
thousands of columns for the newspapers. They have pleaded  
face to face with friends and strangers for the principles that  
make for peace, for justice, for happiness.

People blankly stare at them. People ridicule them.  
People give them abusive names. But the cause is growing.  
It is advancing with wonderful strides.

And what is the remedy? The remedy consists in the re-

removal of the cause. The cause is private ownership of land. You believe that, for you have studied the subject.

The treatment of the subject must be scientific, exact. All of the truths of the land question must harmonize with the truths of all other industrial and economic questions.

“The use of the earth belongs to the living generations of the people,” said Thomas Jefferson. He was not the first man who said that. Long before his time it was announced in the writings of hundreds of philosophers. The Old Testament writings teach the same thing.

If any man has a right to own one hundred acres of land he has a right to own one million acres; yes, he has a right to own the whole earth, if he can purchase it.

All wealth is the result of labor applied to the earth. If certain persons monopolize certain portions of the earth out of which labor creates wealth, then those persons may demand a larger portion of the wealth which labor creates.

Yes, the laborer toils for the owner of land, while he sleeps, eats and frolics.

Let me tell you how the land owners of Missouri bossed the State a few years ago, and fooled labor into forging chains for itself. The State went to the expense of flooding Europe with literature showing up the advantages of buying Missouri lands, and the silly people of Missouri had to pay the expense.

Yes, people who had to pay rent, paid for tracts printed in foreign languages, which said, in effect, “Come over here and make the landlord’s farms and building lots more val-

able, so that we can have the very great privilege of paying a higher rent for what we ourselves use."

Don't people need educating when they show such utter ignorance of their own interests?

For national prosperity and justice, abolish all taxes on incomes and personal property; and upon everything produced by human labor. Tax nothing but land values. The land is God's equal gift to mankind.

When the people learn to respect that gift and the giver, poverty will cease.

---

#### IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION.

Each of the above words mean the same thing. An immigrant is an emigrant. When a person leaves his former home he is an emigrant. When he settles down in a new home he is an immigrant.

Nearly all the families in the United States have been both emigrants and immigrants. The human race is a *rover*. Both its past and present history shows it. The American people are noted for roving. The desire to move is a human passion.

How came the white population of this country here? It was by emigration, immigration and birth.

My ancestors came from *England* in 1628 and settled in Massachusetts. They murdered some of the native inhabitants, and drove the remainder away. Have *I* a *right* to live in America?

A man leaves *Germany* and comes to America to live ; has he a *right* to do so ?

A man comes from *China* to live in America ; has he a *right* to do so ?

Boys, I leave you to answer these questions. If you have not learned, by this time, that all persons upon the earth have *equal rights*, then I am sorry both for you and myself.

How any person who has a *spark* of the consciousness of right can approve of the exclusion of the Chinese or any other people from this country I do not understand.

The question is not what *I wish*, or what *you wish*, but the question forever is : *What is right?*

---

### POPULATION.

The written history of man, as it is recorded in books, extends back several thousand years. The written history of man as it is recorded in the rocks, goes back millions of years. How thinly the earth is populated.

Some persons, some newspapers try to create a sensation by saying that in a few hundred years more, the earth will look like an ant hill. That population will outrun production. Don't worry Boys, about that—there is no more likelihood of that, than there is of Jim Hemingway being obliged to suckle a baby.

The earth is now cultivated in the most unscientific, rude, slovenly manner.

The time will come when one acre of soil will produce more human food than a hundred acres now do. The time will come when mankind will cease to *kill* to eat. Vegetables and fruits will be the food of the human race, and beasts will no longer be raised to be eaten.

The greater danger is that the people of the earth may become too few. The greater the brain work the fewer children. Reason will regulate the number of children to be born, and not passion. In new countries families are large. In old countries families are small, as a rule.

When men have free access to the source of food—the land, there will be free production of both food and population ; and one will just balance the other.

When men see that they cannot support families in the comfort, style, elegance that they desire, they will avoid marriage, but I think all willing workers can gratify their desires when nature's opportunities become free.

The more people there are who will work, the more wealth there will be for all workers. According to the law of the "survival of the fittest " the drones of society will "die out," owing to non-reproduction of their kind.

---

#### THE LAND QUESTION.

The land question is the subject that should now engage the minds of all thinking people. The wrongs of society are known by all, and felt by the vast majority of people. For many years philanthropists have been looking everywher

for the source of increasing poverty, without looking at the land under their feet.

Dove of England, Buchanan and George of the United States have pointed to this source with such patience, devotion and power that the people are now "waking up" to its truth.

Nothing has aroused the minds of people to the perception of their own wrongs, and to the remedy, as the subject of land monopoly, since the days of Garrison and the abolition of negro slavery.

Garrison preached the sacredness of human rights in man's ownership of his body.

George preaches the sacredness of human rights in the people's equal freedom to the land, and he preaches it with tremendous power.

The wrongs of Ireland are summed up in: Private ownership of land.

The wrongs of England are summed up in: Private ownership of land.

The wrongs of America are summed up in: Private ownership of land.

There is not a *free* people on the face of the earth that hold to private ownership of land.

No greater slave exists on the earth than that man who must procure his food, clothing and shelter with his own hands and brains, and is at the same time denied equal rights in the source from which all these must come.

By no probability would famines come to a people having equal rights in the use of land.

The famine of India, in which six millions of natives starved to death, was not caused by a failure of the earth to produce sufficient food, but it was caused by shipping to England the products of India's land and labor, to pay England for ~~military government~~ and oppression.

The Irish famine of 1845 was not caused by a failure of Irish land to produce, with Irish labor, food enough for the people of Ireland; but it was caused by exporting from Ireland, wheat, barley, oats, hay, butter, cheese, etc., to pay Irish landlords, and English landlords rent for the use of God-land.

In Ireland, England, Scotland and the United States are vacant lands enough to supply all the idle population of each of these countries with work and wages. But private ownership puts up sign-boards: Keep off! Keep out! No trespassers!

I wish that you farmer boys would read "The Land Question," by George, one hundred pages. "Pa" Chase can't say all that you need to know of this subject in a little "Primer."

Since writing the foregoing I see by the March 1891 *Arena* that Prof. J. R. Buchanan published a long article on the injustice of private ownership of land so long ago as 1847 in *The Herald of Truth* printed at Cincinnati, Ohio.

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#### A NATURAL LAW OF RENT.

Where I lived when a boy, in Vermont, there were plenty of chestnut trees in the woods. We boys could go where we

pleased on the hills around the village and gather nuts without asking the possessor of the land. There were five good trees in Pulsifer's pasture, that he claimed for himself. Some of the trees would yield more chestnuts than others.

One summer day Pulsifer told Gilbert Grant, Marshall Grant, Henry Hitchcock, Bill Pulsifer and Henry Chase—five boys about eight or nine years old—that he wanted them to turn hay in the afternoon, and that if they would work good they might gather all the chestnuts from those five trees in the fall. Well, I tell you, we did pitch in, and helped him "hay" in the field just back of my father's barn. We watched the chestnuts grow on those trees, and after a while we began to dispute which tree each boy should have; for by the middle of October, after some heavy frosts, it was near time to gather the nuts. Bill Pulsifer said that he ought to have the biggest tree, because he was a few months older than the other boys, and the land was his father's. The other boys did not see justice in his arguments, and besides, we all saw how he shirked work that day in his father's hay field. Gilbert Grant lived nearer old man Pulsifer than the other boys, so he went to the Pulsifer farm house one evening to "see about it." The interview concluded by requiring all the five boys to be at Pulsifer's house next Sunday at three o'clock. You may be sure the boys were all there.

Mr. Pulsifer then told us that he had concluded to sell the choice of those trees at auction. "The choice of trees shall be sold to the highest bidder, to be paid in quarts of chestnuts." We told him that we thought it was mean in him to

make us pay for the nuts when we had once paid for them in the hay field. "Oh no, boys, you shan't be cheated. All the nuts that the trees sell for I will divide equally among you after the nutting," said Mr. Pulsifer.

The first choice of trees sold for sixteen quarts of nuts, the second choice for eight, the third choice for six, the fourth choice four quarts, and the fifth got his for nothing, as there could be no bidder but himself.

Now, I think that story very well illustrates the "land question."

Rent of land is the commercial bid for exclusive possession. The price goes into the common treasury of the bidders, and is divided up among them in the shape of necessary government expenses. The use of the chestnut trees belonged to the boys in common. One had as much right to the best tree as the others. Those boys might have worked all together and gathered the nuts from all the trees and then divided them equally. But that would not have been quite just, for one boy was more lazy than all the rest, and some were not as capable, and had not earned an equal share in the hay field and could not earn an equal share in the nut gathering. But in selling the exclusive right to crop the best tree, and from that to the least valuable, the record of each boy's labor was as near exact justice as we can get things. The question of the exclusive possession of God's earth is the same as the chestnut tree question.

## LABOR UNIONS.

Monopolists criticise all labor unions. They seem to think that union is one of their own natural monopolies. Union is the one thing that they have not been able to "gobble."

Monopolists have taken every opportunity to break up unions, by the most heartless and cruel methods.

Remember, boys, that labor is all *one*, whether in city or country, whether farmer or mechanic. Oppression of one, is oppression of all. Labor should seek to make itself *one* in feeling, and in action.

Farmers are laborers more than capitalists. Farmer's unions, under the name of Alliances are a tremendous power in politics, at this moment; and whether they form a third party or not, their influence must be felt in the future, more and more by all parties.

You young farmers are to be the *future* Legislators of America. Form your opinions on the basis of *eternal principles of right*, and there will be no fear for your *action*.

Strikes do little present good. Strikers are victims offered on the Altar of Self Sacrifice. Strikes are the natural revolt against the robbery of rights. Strikes are a protest against oppression. They are born of a noble and manly spirit.

But unions and strikes will never settle the labor question; for that has its roots down in the *soil* that God made for the *use* of all men. Until justice returns to the earth, all other action is comparatively futile.

The blood of the political body must be purified by justice: poultices may soothe, but never heal the sores, or their source.

Monopoly of land must *go*; because it is at the bottom of nearly all the labor trouble. Laborers can employ themselves, if they have free access to land and then they cannot be oppressed by capitalist or monopolist. With his feet firmly resting upon free land, the laborer will be independent of all employers.

The first strike that I ever heard of, and the grandest that the world knows is that recorded in Exodus, of the Bible. The children of Jacob had become a great multitude in Egypt, and were the hewers of wood and the drawers of water in that rich country; being in no better condition than slaves.

The labor of these descendants of Jacob had enriched their Egyptians masters to an enormous extent, which had its usual result; these masters were arrogant, selfish, tyranical, and blind to their own true interest.

With the order to "make bricks without straw," these bondmen struck. They quit work, and despoiled the Egyptians by taking their jewels and other portable wealth. It was a vast multitude numbering thousands, that fled across the Red Sea and used vacant land in a wilderness. It was a success.

Labor, in striking against wrongs, rebels. The rebellion is right. Labor is now rebelling against plutocracy. It will not be successful except it be unanimous. Labor in every department of industry must be united. Without union it will fail of success.

All labor is one, and must work in harmony to attain its freedom. Nothing but freedom of the land can free labor,

and all minor issues must be pooled to secure success. The way to get justice for ourselves is to secure the rights of others.

It is not practical for farm laborers to form unions. They are too scattered. But in towns laborers can form unions, and it is right for them to do so, if they desire it.

Unions of all kinds of labor have existed in England for more than six hundred years. It is natural for the oppressed to unite for mutual protection against the aggressions of the oppressor.

Where unions were allowed free play they benefitted the English laborer. But a raise in wages was considered a crime by English plutocrats, and laws were made to reduce wages to the point of bare existence and reproduction of the workers.

The competition in England at this day for wages is great, and but for labor unions would be worse than in the United States. These unions enable nearly all kinds of labor to exist in better condition than the same class of labor in the United States, notwithstanding a dense population and a greater monopoly of land there.

Farmers have sometimes condemned labor unions, and strikes, but they have no reasons for it.

Union for protection! Strikes for liberty!

But labor unions and strikers have no right to coerce, or compel others to join them, or to prevent outsiders from working where they please, and at whatever wages they please.

All coercion, compulsion, and prevention is a denial of

equal rights; and farmers or mechanics cannot deny the right to others which they claim for themselves.

---

### THE PLUTOCRAT.

Suppose every dollar represents a day's labor. Then some men have fifty millions of days' work stored up. Some men have five hundred thousand days' labor stored up.

If a man works every day for forty years he has done about twelve thousand days' work. How, then, does any man come by fifty millions of days' work? Or by one hundred thousand days' work?

There is but one true answer. *It is by injustice and robbery!* "By hook or by crook" the laws have let him steal away portions of other people's labor. Sweep those laws out of existence!

But suppose a man has *no* day's labor stored up and yet has twelve thousand days' work as an *income to spend yearly*? It can come to him only as a result of unjust laws.

The *hardest working* people can't get more than three hundred days' work to spend yearly. If we can make such laws that no set of men can rob labor of half as much as it is robbed now, won't labor men be more comfortable and happier?

We tell you, poor brother, poor sister, that we have found out who the robbers are that have made you poor, and who keep you poor by their constant stealings from your labor. And believe us when we say that the time is very near when

you shall no more be robbed. The time is close at hand when your daily work shall give you all the comforts of life ; the comforts that labor is entitled to. How ? By restoring "Free Trade" to the people ; by restoring the land to the people.

In 1860 freedom seemed far off to the negro slaves. In 1891 the abolition of industrial white slavery seems far off to the poor, down-trodden worker, who seeks in rum, to forget for a moment his wretchedness. But tremendous forces are working, mostly unseen by the public, which will destroy, in 1900, the slavery of monopoly, and the slavery of rum.

We must say to the rich : "Stop a moment and think ! You say that drink causes more than half the poverty. You drink, and you drink very expensive things, too. Why don't drink make *you* poor ? How did you come by so much wealth, anyway ? Did you earn it by honest work, or did you just get it, or did it flow into your pockets by the laws of trade ?"

The present laws of trade are wicked because they violate the law of equal right ; and they violate equal right because the government interposes restrictions to its freedom, and thus robs a large portion of the people, purposely to enrich a smaller portion of the people.

Until the people abolish all restrictions of trade and production, Plutocrats will multiply, and as they multiply poverty must increase, because the more some get, the less others must get out of the stock of wealth yearly produced by labor.

When I was a boy there was but one man in the United

States worth a million of dollars. Now there are six thousand. In the city of New York there are one thousand millionaires. Whenever you farmers wish to put a stop to the making of millionaires you can do it. No restrictive, prohibitory laws can do that. Make freedom of trade and production equal for all men in the country, and the workers will retain the wealth they produce, and then no plutocrat can live beyond the hatching period.

The only possible way to prevent the growth of plutocracy is to make the rental values of land go into the public treasuries.

---

#### THE SPECULATOR.

Who is he? O, one of them boards at the finest hotel in the city. He has more than a million of dollars, and is getting more every day. He got this money buying land at a dollar and a quarter an acre, and is renting it out by the year at two dollars per acre, without making any improvements on it. A city is built on some of the land, and so he rents some of it for one hundred dollars a foot. He has a brother as rich as he is. He borrowed ten thousand dollars of the first brother and then gambled in railroad stock until he got nearly a million out of the blood of widows and children. He is a speculator.

A speculator is a robber. He depresses the price of goods and takes that much from labor and capital, then he raises the price of the goods and takes more again from the consumer. He is an enemy to society.

There is another speculator, one who speculates in the flesh and blood of the people.

He stole his money by getting Congress to put a fifty per cent. tax on a certain kind of imported goods, so that he could erect a big factory, and make that kind of goods, and sell them at a larger profit.

So Congress did what that speculator wanted, and he got very rich also. The men and women who made the goods in the factory did not get rich ! O, no, they just stayed poor, for if they asked for better wages they were turned out of the factory, and other men and women were brought over from the old country to take their places. Then they had to work still cheaper, or tramp, tramp, and they *are* tramping.

That is a speculator in human misery. There is more money, and more damnation in it than there was in negro slavery.

There are all sorts of speculators. Every man who corners grain, pork, beef, coal oil, or any necessity of mankind is a speculator and a robber.

It does no good to make laws against those practices, the law can always be evaded by those rascals. All that is necessary is to abolish the laws that support monopolies in land, or in goods.

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#### FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

In any country where freedom to speak and freedom to print is denied, there is little personal freedom of any kind.

In rebellion against governments one of the first things

demanded is freedom to speak, to write, to print. Without the exercise of these rights there can be no criticism. There can be no public denunciation of wrongs.

You can judge of the freedom of any people by the laws in regard to the press.

Although I demand free speech, and a free press, yet I hold oral or printed speech responsible for its exercise.

It is enough that equity shall cause restitution to be made for the abuse of any and all rights.

---

#### FREEDOM OF THE MAIIS.

The mail is nothing more and nothing less than a common-carrier. The post-office department has no right to prescribe what I *may* read, or proscribe what I *wish* to read. It has the right to refuse mail that will injure other articles in the mail bag, and that is as far as its right extends. Anything beyond that is despotic. Personally, I may condemn much that is printed, and carried by mail; but I would not oppose a straw to its transmission.

There would be no books printed, and no mail carried, if every person could have suppressed what he did not like.

---

#### THE GOOD TIME COMING.

##### THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN.

All the goods in the world, good things I mean, the things that people need to make them comfortable and happy, are

made by work. Man must make them into shapes from the raw materials, such as trees, rock, iron, tin, zinc, wool, cotton.

I think the people who make these good things ought to have them. What I make belongs to me, to keep or to exchange for things that another person has made. The first operation is manufacture; the second is trade. The people who wish to exchange their goods with each other ought to have the privilege without being taxed for it. If I am a shoemaker I must exchange my shoes with people who have other things that I want to use; for I cannot eat shoes, or wear them on top of my head, or do as an old woman once did—"live in a shoe."

When the Yankees and other people began to invent machines for doing work quicker, making every kind of goods easier and better, we said: "O how delightful it will be to live in the future; we will have so many good things, so many more good things than we have now.

The good time will be here soon; soon will come the time when a day's work shall be only six hours, and that six hours shall give us more of the comforts and necessities of life than a day's work does now, and it shall give us luxuries that crude labor has never thought it possible to possess."

Year after year went by; more and more inventions to produce wealth by less labor, were made; wealth rapidly increased; villages grew into towns, towns into cities; the hundreds of dollars grew into the thousands, the thousands into millions—for some people.

These millionaires did not *make* the wealth; they only *got*

it. What does that mean? It means that the rest of the people have been simply robbed, to that amount. Labor made that wealth, and speculators robbed labor of it. "According to law?" O yes, according to laws made for the rich and designed to rob labor.

This country is full of the good things that people want, and that the people of this country have made. Why should not the men who made these things have them for their families? The majority of the men who produce the necessities and the luxuries of life are treated as industrial slaves. They do not have comfortable clothes. They do not have comfortable food. Even if they had all those things in comfortable abundance, they deserve more than this. They deserve the luxuries of life if any one in this world does, for the comforts and luxuries of life are the productions of their own brains and hands.

Any man who goes to his office, or shop, or field, and does honest work, month after month and year after year, ought to have the abundant wealth which he creates, to live upon, without a single thought of future or present want. Nothing but the present unjust system of the distribution of wealth prevents its being an accomplished fact.

The fear of poverty is destructive of happiness. The fear of poverty makes criminals by the thousands. Poverty itself is a fruitful cause of suicide and drunkenness.

Indifference is fatal to investigation. Let us first see the cause of this wicked state of society. It is a disgrace to a civilization that pretends to be animated by the spirit of Christ.

God has placed this earth here for man's abode. The earth is the mother of the human race. Out of the earth must come the sustenance of all people. One man has no better right to these things than every other man, woman or child. And every child born into this world to-morrow has an equal right, with all other inhabitants of the globe, to these gifts of nature.

The babe of the poorest woman has nothing to distinguish it from the child of the mother who wears silks and diamonds, and lives in a palace, except its clothing. Nature grants no special privileges. Men grant special privileges to themselves, and thus make a distinction of rich and poor. The special privileges are monopolies.

Monopoly, then, is the cause of difference between wealth and poverty. Monopolies of all kinds are robbers. They take small portions of the wealth of millions of people and give it to a few hundreds of men. The more they take the more they are enabled, by that very wealth, to commit still greater robberies.

I need not specify the names of the monopolies of the United States. Their number is legion. If they are not destroyed they will create a bloody revolution. If they cannot be destroyed, they must be taken by the State for the benefit of the whole people.

There is one great monopoly, and that monopoly is the mother of all other monopolies! You know what I will say! You know that I will say that its name is

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF LAND.

Can you not see that taking the commercial rental value

of land practically makes the land belong to the people? Can you not see that it makes the land as free to one person as to another? Thus mother earth suckles her children with impartiality. This makes free land. With free land comes free trade, for we shall have all the cash then that we need, without taxing goods. And we will turn our custom houses into something better than a robbers' den.

What do I expect will be the result? I expect that no more millionaires can grow up in this country. I expect that the wealth that is produced in this country will be fairly distributed by the laws of free production and free exchange, among those who do the useful work. In plainer terms, the wealth will remain with those who produce it. For there will be no laws by which labor can be robbed.

I expect that any man can get a good comfortable living by working from four to six hours a day, and have the *luxuries of life also*. By luxuries I mean books, magazines, concerts, lectures, excursions, plenty of house room and plenty of household conveniences: paintings, engravings, carpets, handsome furniture, etc.

Education will lift many lowly people grades higher. Pleasant homes will help destroy the rum power. People will have fewer sorrows to drown in intoxicating liquor. Abolish poverty and you abolish the most of crime. We will erect hospitals for criminals, and abolish penitentiaries. We will reform crime and not revenge it. The law of Christ will some time fill the hearts and minds of men.

## INDEX TO SUBJECTS.

	PAGE.
<b>A</b> Natural Law of Rent	152
<b>B</b> Banks, -	116
<b>C</b> Competition, -	43
<b>D</b> Debt—Credit -	130
<b>E</b> Distribution of Wealth, -	40
<b>F</b> Equal Right, -	4
<b>G</b> Freedom of the Press, -	161
<b>H</b> Freedom of the Mails, -	162
<b>I</b> Government, -	49
<b>J</b> Interest, -	125
<b>K</b> Immigration and Emigration, -	148
<b>L</b> Labor, -	7
<b>M</b> Labor and Capital, -	31
<b>N</b> Labor Unions, -	155
<b>O</b> Land, -	22
<b>P</b> Machinery, -	11
<b>Q</b> Marriage and Divorce, -	97
<b>R</b> Maternalism—Paternalism, -	94
<b>S</b> Money, -	107
<b>T</b> Patents, -	135
<b>U</b> Political Parties -	138
<b>V</b> Population, -	149
<b>W</b> Poverty, -	142

Production,	-	-	-	-	-	17
Property,	-	-	-	-	-	19
Protection,	-	-	-	-	-	91
Religion—Law—Medicine.	-	-	-	-	-	100
Restrictive Legislation.	-	-	-	-	-	86
Right,	-	-	-	-	-	2
Riches,	-	-	-	-	-	140
Roads,	-	-	-	-	-	102
Safe Deposits of the People,	-	-	-	-	-	122
“Suffrage.”—The Vote,	-	-	-	-	-	47
Taxation,	-	-	-	-	-	54
The Good Time Coming,	-	-	-	-	-	162
The Death Penalty,	-	-	-	-	-	81
The Land Question,	-	-	-	-	-	150
The Plutocrat,	-	-	-	-	-	158
The Police Power of the Nation,	-	-	-	-	-	73
The Rum Power,	-	-	-	-	-	87
The Speculator,	-	-	-	-	-	160
Trade,	-	-	-	-	-	33
Treatment of Crime,	-	-	-	-	-	76
United States Bonds,	-	-	-	-	-	123
Wages,	-	-	-	-	-	13

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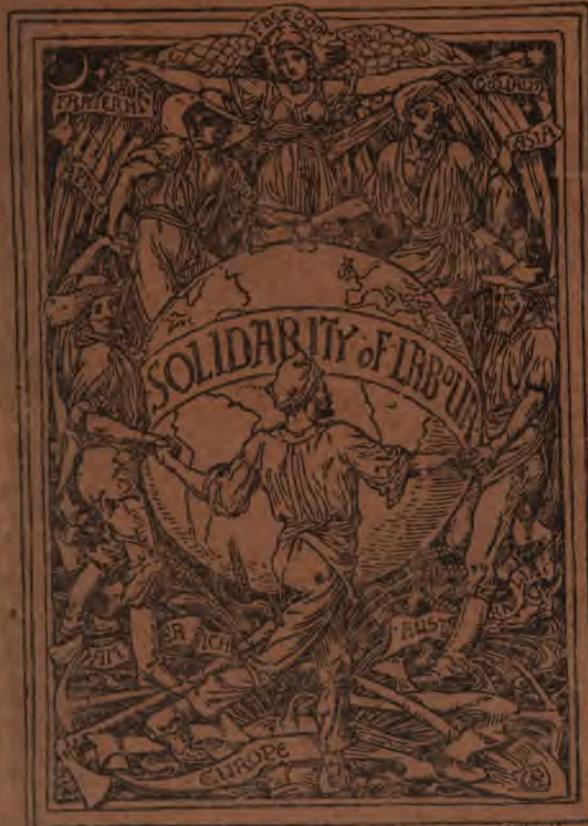
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